

THE  
Providences of GOD  
Observed through  
SEVERAL AGES  
Towards this  
NATION,  
In introducing the  
True Religion;

And then,

In the Defence of that, preserving the  
PEOPLE in their RIGHTS and  
LIBERTIES, whilst other King-  
doms are ravished of theirs, as our  
*Counsellors* designed for Us.

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TO THE  
READER.

**T**Here being found amongst us  
a certain sottish Generation,  
who, out of love to Slavery,  
and hatred to our Legal and Natural  
Rights, do disown any Miscarriage  
or Error in the Ministers and Instru-  
ments of the two last Reigns; I thought  
it necessary to make some Observations  
upon the Transactions of those Times,  
to the end to raise our Hearts to a  
thankful Admiration of God's Grace

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and Goodness, in preserving us in our Privileges by his over-ruling Hand of Providence, through many Ages, whilst other Kingdoms have been ravished of theirs ; and to discourage the like Attempts against us for the future, by Men of ambitious, selfish and depraved Principles. And because I know this will meet with many Enemies, who, as concerned, will be ready to cavil at it, I have for the farther Proof of the Subject Matter relating to the two last Reigns, and the Iniquity of them, annexed hereunto two Affidavits, which, together with the uncontradicted Information of that eminently honest Captain Henry Wilkinson, a true Son (tho no Bigot) of the Church of England, will, I suppose,

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suppose, be sufficient to make good the Truth of *what* is here suggested: In opposition to those that make it their work to magnify the evil Instruments of the late Times, recommending them undeservedly to Places of greatest Trust. And if any desire farther Satisfaction concerning the four last Kings, I refer them for James the First, to that Book called, The Court of King James, writ by Sir Anthony Welden, who being a Courtier, writ his Knowledge and Experience. For Charles the First, to Rushworth's Authentick Collections. For Charles the Second, and James the Second, to that Book called, The Display of Tyranny, First and Second Part: where you will find

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find named the Judges, Juries, Witnesses and Counsel, made use of in several Trials upon Life and Death, as well as for pretended Misdemeanors; some of which Verdicts have been since reversed by Act of Parliament, declaring several Men murdered; and some of the Verdicts for Misdemeanours, reversed by Judgment in the House of Lords, to the Credit of the Sufferers, but little to the Credit of those Judges, Juries, Witnesses and Counsel, who found them guilty. The Witnesses meet with their just Reward, being rendred despicable in the Eyes of the People; whilst the Judges, Juries and Counsel are most partially not so much as reflected upon, tho most of all villainously faulty, in a mercenary unjust  
wresting

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wresting both Law and Evidence in favour of the King, beyond the Intention of the Law, or what the Words of the Witnesses could naturally or genuinely bear; as what Mr. Shepherd said in Alderman Cornish's Case, &c. to the Ruine of some, and Murder of others; finding Mr. Bethell guilty of a Riot, when he was not upon the place, and without Evidence that he was so much as there; he having had four Witnesses to prove he was else-where at that time, who could not be called, to his great Damage: and tho this pretended Riot is since reversed by the House of Lords, as unrighteous and unjust, he and his fellow-Sufferers, are by the Act of Grace, left unrelievable, except

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*except by Proceſs againſt the King,  
for their Fines paid into the Exche-  
quer, which might prove tedious and  
chargeable.*

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OBSER-

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OBSERVATIONS of several Extraordinary PRO-  
VIDENCES towards this  
Nation.

**A**S it is the Duty of Man to con-  
template the various Dispensa-  
tions and Workings of God in  
the World ; so no Country un-  
der Heaven affords more Matter than *Eng-  
land*, for raising our Souls to the highest Ad-  
miration of his Greatness and Goodness,  
and that as well in reference to Civils as  
Spirituals.

To look no further back than *William* the  
First, who some call *Conqueror* ; the Mercy  
of the Lord towards this Nation hath ever  
since been to a Miracle in preserving their  
Rights and Privileges through so many Ages  
and Reigns of Covetous and Ambitious  
Princes, who never wanted evil Counsellors  
to join with them for Arbitrary Power and  
Government ; they knowing that he that  
makes no Conscience of cozening the Com-  
munity



munity for whose Good he is ordained, must suffer them in their degree to cozen him as he doth the other : and tho we find, they have for the most part first or last, fail'd in their Attempts, it hath not frightened others from the like Designs ; the Examples of *Gavestone*, *Lords Spencers*, &c. in former times ; nor of *Strafford* and *Land* since, being any caution to those whose Pride and Covetousness over-ballanced such Precedents. And it's no wonder, that all times should furnish bad Kings with evil Counsellors, there being more Men in the World of Parts without Honesty, than there are of both Parts and Honesty ; and more of Honesty without Parts than of the other two : whose Weakness the first makes use of to support themselves in their Tyrannical Practices. And, tho through Mercy, we do at present enjoy our Liberties, the Preservation of them, from the first *William* down to this time, hath been almost by perpetual Contests with our Kings and their pernicious Instruments. And it's to be wished that the like may be prevented in the future, by asserting our Rights beyond Dispute, whilst we have a King so just as will not oppose it : and also, that all the Arbitrary, Illegal, Irregular and Bloody Methods used in the late Times, for imprisoning (by demanding excessive Bail, to delude

delude the *Habeas Corpus* Act, so much hated by our Arbitrary Men) Fining, Whipping, and taking away the Lives of Men, may be effectually damned, to prevent the bringing them into Precedent hereafter, there being yet nothing done to that end.

In Times of Popery, the Clergy (who are always governed by their separate Interest) owning the Pope for their Head, were tenacious of their English Privileges, equal to any, and from thence were the greatest Supporters of them, and the greatest Checks to our aspiring Princes, for which reason they were then so much honoured and adored: but since the Reformation in Religion hath changed their Interest, in making them dependent upon the Crown, from whence issue all their Preferments, they have been the greatest Flatterers of our Princes, and Enemies to our English Liberties; it being hard for a Flatterer to be an honest Man. And this may be made an additional Reason to Dr. *Eachard's* several Causes of the present Contempt of the Clergy: for as it's natural to Mankind to reverence those from whom they receive Good; so on the contrary, to have an Aversion to those from whom they derive their Miseries. And tho Statists would monopolize, beyond contradiction, all Knowledge in Government to themselves as a Defence

for their evil Practices; the wiser sort of Men, of both Parts and Honesty, see easily through their Tricks, and the rest feel where the Shoe pincheth. And in truth, Politicians without Honesty, are but like Mountebanks on a Stage, to cheat the Ignorant: For, as King *James* the First used to say, *Honesty is the best Policy*; and whether he had the Vertue to follow his own Maxim, he was able to judg of what was good and vertuous. And surely all Governments thrive best, that make Honesty the Rule; not only as a Blessing of God may be expected from such Proceedings, but also from Natural and Human Reason; the worst of Men liking Honesty best in others, tho they do not practise it themselves. And therefore all Vertuous Princes will be careful to make choice of Counsellors of upright and just Principles, as such may be well known by their Creatures: for if their Favourites are Men of immoral, depraved and debauched Lives, as to Tyranny and Oppression, they must be the same in their own Nature; and who they are that are such, the late Times have so sufficiently discovered, as is beyond concealing.

And now, as this may serve to raise our Hearts in a thankful Remembrance to Almighty God for Temporal Mercies; so I shall observe that which is of greater Concern,

cern, our Eternal Being, which requires our most serious Meditations ; as, That the Lord by his over-ruling Hand of Providence should make a professed Enemy to the Truth, *Henry* the 8<sup>th</sup>, his first Instrument of bringing us out of Darknes into Light, cannot be sufficiently admired ; who being followed by that Miracle of Piety, especially for his Age, *Edward* the 6<sup>th</sup>, he made so grounded a Reformation in his short time, that his merciless and persecuting Successor of the Popish Communion, could not get totally over in her Reign, but was forced to leave in a great measure his Pattern of Church-Government for Queen *Elizabeth* to proceed upon ; which had he lived, would in all probability have been more perfect, he seeming to have been inspired with an holy Spirit for Reformation, in purging the Church from all the fulsom Dregs and Rubbish of Popish Superstition and Idolatry : And the cutting so early the Thread of his Life, before he had accomplished his Design, gives us great cause to reckon it a Judgment of God upon this Nation for their Sins. And we have the more reason to believe his pious Intentions, because Dr. *Heylin* (a late Champion for the Church of *England* established by Law, and Bishop *Laud*'s great Creature) tells us in his Preface to his Church-History,

History, ( at least to this Effect ) *That it was no Infelicity to the Church that he was taken away, otherwise he had surely reduced Episcopacy to Primitive Institution, &c.* And since the Doctor could not be ignorant that the Papiſts were violently ſuſpected to be the Authors of his Death, we may by this obſerve the Doctor and his Patrons Inclinations.

Queen *Elizabeth's* Preservation in the Tower in the time of her Imprisonment, is a remarkable Providence not to be forgot ; that when her bloody Sister had designed her Death, she should be preserved by King *Philip* ( Queen *Mary's* Husband ) who had not at that time ( besides his Queen ) his Fellow in *Christendom* for Cruelty and Persecution of the Reformed ; and was moved to the same, not by Bowels of Compassion, but upon a Politick Account, That should Queen *Mary* die Childless, as it seems he feared, Queen *Elizabeth* being out of the way, the Queen of *Scots*, a Papiſt, would come to the Crown ; who being inseparably joyned in League with *France*, they both might be too hard for *Spain* : and that his Lenity towards Queen *Elizabeth* could be upon no other score, appears by putting his Eldest Son to Death for no other cause, than being too mercifully inclined towards the Protestants in the *Netherlands*. And thus

thus the Lord wrought for us when we could not help our selves, in bringing her to the Crown, and preserving her through her whole Reign against the perpetual Plots and Endeavours of the Papists for the destroying her. Having ever since remarkably blasted that great Monarchy, in bringing it down from the top of Dominion, to be less than their Neighbours, whom formerly they despised ; as if the Lord did not think so great a Power exercised against his People, fit to be entrusted in the Hands of unmerciful Men.

Queen *Elizabeth* having in her Father's and Sister's Times (tho averse to the gross Idolatry of *Rome*) imbibed too great a liking of the gaudy Splendor of the Church, insomuch that the pious Reformers of that Age could not bring her to that height of Reformation they desired, as appears by Dr. *Burnet's* (now Bishop of *Salisbury*) Letter from *Zurick* in *Switzerland* : had it not pleased God in his Providence to furnish her with wise and moderate Counselors, as Sir *Thomas Smith*, Sir *Nicholas Bacon*, Lord *Burley*, Sir *Francis Walsingham*, Earl of *Effex*, and Sir *Walter Rawleigh*, &c. she might have proved more severe against the then Disseners than she was : but having had a true Love to the People of *England*, and particularly to the City of *London*,



( which scarce any of her four Successors have since had ) she reigned moderately ; some of those Acts of Parliament made in her time, and since wrested against Dissenters, being intended only against Papiſts. Piety was by her and her Counsellors encouraged ; all Debauchery, Blasphemy, Atheism and Profaneness discountenanced ; Honours, Places of Profit or Pensions never bestowed otherwise than for Merit ; by which all sorts being provoked to the study of Vertue and generous Actions, Gentlemen were in that time in higher Esteem, and of greater Interest, than many Noblemen at this day : the benefit of which we found in a Blessing upon all our Undertakings, the Nation not suffering the least Dishonour in any of their Actions during her Reign, tho ingaged in War upon the account of Religion with all her Neighbours ; with *Spain* in defence of the Protestants in the *Netherlands* ; with *Scotland* in the behalf of the Reformation there ; and with *France* in the assistance of the Reformed in that Kingdom ; in *Ireland* against the Rebels there ; and at home in suppressing the perpetual Plots of the Papiſts. And having prevailed in all places with a small, but well-managed Revenue ; extravagant Salaries, Fraud and Cozenage, unnecessary Pensions, multiplying Offices and Officers

to



to gratify a Party for Popery and Arbitrary Government, not being then known; her and her Peoples Interest being reckoned one, and not separated, as our Courtiers have since done, she became glorious through the World, so far as the Name of *England* was heard of; infomuch, that in Honour of her, the Emperor of *Muscovia* did voluntarily bestow extraordinary Immunities upon the English Nation.

When this Queen died, the Renown of *England* seems to have died with her; for since her time, we have gone backward in Honour and Reputation, having received many Eclipses: None of our four succeeding Kings, nor even *Cromwel* in his almost five Years Usurpation, having any one glorious Action to boast of, save the Concern the last had for the Protestants Liberty in *Piedmont*; which, I confess, ought not to be forgot, tho his War with *Spain*, and joining with *France*, is his Reproach. In thereby laying the Foundation of that King's present Greatness, which is like to cost us dear, especially before we recover the Glory and Renown of good Queen *Elizabeth's* Days, which we then acquired by the Virtue and Ability of her, her Counsellors and Favourites, through the whole Administration; and particularly in not exposing Employments to Sale, nor preferring Relations

tions to Places they were not qualified for ; nor yet suffering her Souldiers to be shirked upon by unreasonable Defalcations, in receiving their Pay, buying their Clothes and Horse-Furniture, under the vain Notion of making the better Figure, &c. to the abating the Activity and Bravery of her Military Men, as hath in the two last Reigns, and never before been practised : For in our late Civil Wars, the Souldiers were so far from being shirked upon, that their Paymasters durst not abate them the least odd Money, tho pressed thereto by the Receivers : and a greater Indication of Unfaithfulness, and Ingratitude in Ministers and Favourites to a Prince, cannot be given, than by abusing in such manner his Favour, and the Power he giveth them.

*James* the First was a Scholar, qualified for an University to make Harangues in the Schools, but had nothing besides to brag of, save Dissimulation, which he called *King-Craft*, but was really his Blemish ; in that by it he so far lost all Reputation, except that of a Pedant, that no Princes or States could confide in him : and for all his boasted Cunning, was ever worsted in Foreign Treaties ; as in that with *Spain* about the *Infanta* ; with the Emperor about the *Palatinate* ; with *Holland* about the Cautionary Towns, not in delivering them up, for that

that was but Justice, but in the Sum due to us for them ; and as a Proof of his great Wisdom, he spent that in fruitless Embassies, which good Queen *Elizabeth* did in glorious Atchievements. And therefore our flattering Clergy ( for their own ends ) stiling him a *Solomon*, was groundless, none ever having deserved it less ; his Diversions wherein he spent his time, not being the Care of his People, according to the Duty of his Calling, but in Hunting, Masking and Drinking, and to please the Ecclesiasticks, by making their Sabbath-days-Work easy ; in promoting the Profanation of that Day, in inviting the People by a Declaration to Sports and Games, when they should have been either at Church, or at home, better employed ; as if the way to fit a People for Arbitrary Government, was first to make them Godless, which Maxim hath been since improved.

This King whilst in *Scotland* ( that Kingdom not affording Places of Profit, nor an over-plus of Revenue, sufficient to corrupt a Party for Arbitrary Government ) did not attempt any such thing there ; whereas had he had a Revenue to have wantoned with, ( against which *Moses* adviseth ) they could not have preserved their Rights and Liberties, it being impossible for a People to prevent Tyranny, whose Prince hath a  
super-

superabounding Revenue : And this King was no sooner removed to *England*, where he was furnished with both, than forgetting the Methods of Church, as well as State, he had been bred to in *Scotland*, aspired so much to unlimited Dominion, as if he had never heard of any other Principles ; as appears by his hectoring Speeches in Parliament, tho yet, as occasion served, mixed with some Popular Expressions ; as that when Kings do not govern according to Law, they cease to be Kings, and become Tyrants, and consequently absolving thereby their Subjects, or to that effect, as is more fully to be seen in his Speech to the Lords and Commons in 1609. upon a Bishop's offending them by a Sermon before him, magnifying ( as their Tribe use to do ) his Prerogative beyond all bounds ; which occasion may be reckoned to give the more Force and Energy to the King's asseraining this Truth, tho perhaps it might proceed from his cajoling way, knowing the gentlenatur'd *English* might be easily cozened with good Words ; and that should his Concessions be at any time made use of against him, his depraved Party in Parliament, who have no other Sense than their Master's Will, would over-rule all, as they ever do the greatest Antiquity, when contrary to Court-Designs ; as also maintain the  
least

least illegal assumed Practices as Precedents, tho noval, when for the advantage of the Court, to the Prejudice of the People: as appears by the two last Kings, passing by in their Choice of Sheriffs for the Counties, those brought legally to them, out of which they are to make their Election, and chusing at large such as they apprehended to be most for their private Interest. And yet the King by Law, which no pretended Practice to the contrary can make void, is expressly by a judged Case, confined in his Election to the three legally presented him; the transgressing of which Rule, this King did not attempt: for notwithstanding his so much brag of *King-Craft*, his Design for Arbitrary Government (a thing hard to be concealed) seems to have been discovered by those Noble Lords, who (as is said) finding it known that at a Meeting they had drank to the Confusion of the all-devouring Prerogative, thought it Prudence each of them to raise a Regiment for the Service of the United *Netherlands*, that under that pretence they might plausibly retire into those Countries, from the Envy of the Court: but it was in that Age the Happiness of the People, that the King's Bravery lay only in his Tongue, and that the Nation was not then over-run with the Leprosy of Luxury and Licentiousness; nor the Ecclesiasticks and Judges  
corrupted

corrupted as they have been since ; so that tho no Means or Tricks were neglected for compassing his Ends, through Providence he failed of his Design. His tossing of Parliaments by Prorogations and Adjournments for bringing them to his Bow, not doing his Work, he projected, for raising of Money (to supply the want of Parliaments) the Dignity of Hereditary Baronets ; and to induce Gentlemen of the best Quality to give Credit to this pernicious Invention by accepting of it, he gave them Precedence of all meerly Knights of the *Bath*, and singly Knights Batchelors, not being the younger Sons of Barons, of whom they have no place ; but to make the Title more valuable and desirable, he ingaged that the Number should not exceed two hundred. And all this under the Romantick Pretence, that every Person accepting hereof, should be obliged to maintain a certain number of Souldiers in *Ireland*, to defend the Protestants against the Papists in that Kingdom ; and as a Badg of their Duty, adds a bloody Hand to their Coat of Arms ; yet with this Condition, that each paying 1000 *l.* into the Exchequer, they should be excused from that Service : for notwithstanding the pretence in the Patent, it was meerly a Trick to get Money without Parliaments : As was the conferring Titles upon Women ; *Scotch*  
and



and *Irish* Titles upon Persons not having any Lands in either Country, a thing not practised before. And as to the Title of Baronet, it may be observed, that tho it is pretended against Papists, those of that Religion were as forward to buy this Honour as others; and thus he defrauded the People of the benefit of Parliaments, by exposing ( for raising of Money ) this and all other Honours to sale, which hath been ever reckoned a Mark of a depraved and corrupt Government. And thus begun our governing by Tricks ( hardly known before ) which continued till our present happy Change; but this according to the Maxim of our Law, *That the King can do no Wrong*, must refer to his evil Council, and not to himself.

This new Honour of Baronets was struck at by several succeeding Parliaments, as illegal in the Institution, as well as the End; the first, in being hereditary without annexing it to some Place; and the latter, in depriving the Nation of their Security in the use of Parliaments. But in a little time the Interest increased so much, in the increase of their Number, that nothing could be done to disannul this Project: for notwithstanding the cajoling Promise of not exceeding two hundred, no Limitation was observed, the Number ( by falling the Price

to



to less than half, tho obliged to have a Receipt out of the Exchequer for the whole 1000 l.) being increased to near, if not (above) a thousand.

And in these and such like ways this celebrated *Solomon* spent a Reign of two and twenty Years, without bringing any Honour to the Nation; but on the contrary, through evil Counsel, a Diminution of it to a great degree; and when he had finished his Course, left his Precedents to his Son *Charles* the First.

This King, as no Man can deny, followed his Father's Steps, and in an higher degree affected absolute Monarchy, wherein being obstinate, it was fatal to him: he was free from that open Dissoluteness his two Successors have been since guilty of; tho equal to them in Obstinacy and Dissimulation, as his several Appeals to Heaven for the Integrity of his Actions do evince. For the Nation not being then arrived at that impudent Profaneness it is now come to, the People were then modest in their Vices, compared with these Times; yet Lewdness then, as it hath ever since, increased more and more, helped forward by Bishop *Land's* Advice, in discouraging Piety, and giving Encouragement to Debauchery, by aspersing sober Men with Nicknames, as *Puritans* and *Precisians*, &c. promoting *Arminianism*,  
the

the Doctrine of *Passive Obedience* and *Non-Resistance*; and then, seconding this *King's Father*, in publishing another Book of Sports, giving Liberty on the Lord's-Day for all manner of Games, as Foot-balls, Cudgels, Dancing, &c. injoining the reading it in the Churches, to the great Grief of all serious Christians fearing God.

His Carriage in the State was as offensive as in the Church; he called Parliaments meerly to serve his own turn, without any Eye to the Publick; and when they did but enquire into any Grievances, as the Death of his Father, who was violently suspected to be poisoned, &c. they were readily dissolved. And in *Anno 1628*, he forbid by Proclamation the speaking of Parliaments (a high Arbitrary Act.) He passed indeed the Petition of Right, asserting the Peoples Liberties; but had no sooner given his Consent than he broke through all the Bounds of it, illegally forcing the Payment of Tunnage and Poundage, Ship-Money, Coat and Conduct-Money, Knighthood-Money; and imprisoned Members for speaking in Parliaments. To increase his Revenue, monopolized (contrary to Law) most Commodities; made an extrajudicial use of the Star-Chamber, to the fining, and otherwise punishing Gentlemen without cause; re-  
 moving

moving them, for their greater Vexation, out of their own Counties, to Prisons in other Countries; and, to prevent Complaints, had no Parliaments in twelve Years; nor then, till compelled by the Troubles in *Scotland* to call one: For tho that Book, falsely intituled this King's, (for which his Admirers *Saint* him) begins with his spontaneous calling of the Parliament in 1640; that Chapter made one of his own Party, upon the reading of it, throw the Book away, saying, *If it begun with so known a Lie, nothing less could be expected in it*, and therefore would not read it. This Expression ought to be pardoned, the King not being concerned in it, both his Sons, the two last Kings, having confessed to the late Earl of *Anglesea*, that their Father did not write the Book, but that it was writ by Dr. *Gauden*, afterwards Bishop of *Exeter*, as hath been since authentickly proved in Print by Dr. *Walker*, one of unquestionable Veracity, whom Dr. *Gauden* made privy to the writing of it; as also by the discovery of Dr. *Gauden*'s own Papers accidentally brought to light.

He wrested the Statute for Forests, to the Ruin of many, by the enlarging them: His Court was filled with Priests and Jesuits: He caressed the Heads of that horrid and odious Rebellion in *Ireland*, clapped up a  
Peace

Peace with them in order to bring those Cut-throats into *England*. His Son *Charles* the Second confessed that the Marquess of *Antrim* (reckoned one of the massacring Rebels) acted by his Father's Commission, and upon that account, he had his Estate restored him by the Court of Claims. He solicited the Duke of *Lorain* to bring his more than ordinary rude and wicked Army into *England*; and all this, besides his deserting *Rochel* after he had stirred them up to stand upon their Defence, promising them Relief, to the ruin of the whole Protestant Cause, as appears by the History of the Siege of *Rochel*, which is worth the perusing, being translated into English.

These are but hints of some few of the Practices in his time, which if not sufficient to suspend (according to the Romish Rule) the *Sainting* him till after an hundred Years, that his Vertues may be forgot; those that read *Rushworth's* Collections, will find enough there for deferring the Solemnization thereof: His Reign was so Arbitrary, that I remember it was commonly said, that the studying Proclamations (which made a Volume as big as a Church-Bible) was more necessary for Lawyers than their Books: His endeavouring to impose a more superstitious and nearer approaching Liturgy to Popery upon the Church of *Scotland*

than ours in *England*, was the beginning of his Troubles; wherein he was as much out in his Politicks as in any of his other Actions; for it could not be well expected, that they, who had swept their Church as clean from all the Rubbish of *Rome*, as *Geneva* it self, and more zealous and refined in their Doctrine than they, would be easily imposed upon in Matters of Religion: But it was the Pride of Bishop *Land*, who was ambitious of being the Founder of a new Popery, and of seeing it accomplished in his days, by driving too furiously, that prevented the designed Mischiefe; and so we find it confessed by our Queen-Mother, in Monsieur *Siries* Mercury, the *French* King's History-Writer for the Affair of *Italy*, who tells us among many other things concerning *England*, That when the Parliament in 1640, met, the Pope had three Agents in *England* negotiating the reconciling our King to *Rome*, (*viz.*) the Count of *Roset*, Seignior *Con*, and Seignior *Pausanie*; reciting *Roset's* Remonstrance delivered the King to prove it his Interest to turn Papist: whereupon the King asking, If the Pope would dispense with his Subjects taking the Oaths of Allegiance and Supremacy? he was told, that if he would be a Catholick, it must be without Conditions: But the Parliament getting a Scent  
hereof,

hereof, hunted these Agents so close, that *Roset* was forced to be confessed, whilst disguising himself, and then fled for *Ireland*, a little before the Massacre, where it's said he died. And it may be observed, that at this time this King's Chief Counsellors and Favourites, next *Strafford* and *Laud*, were such as, whilst living, were suspected, and at Death declared themselves Papists, (*viz.*) *Thomas* Lord *Arundel*, Lord *Cottington*, and Sir *Francis* *Windebanck* Secretary of State, and *Laud*'s Kinsman; and not long before Treasurer *Weston* died in the same Communion.

And the same Author, where he writes of the Affairs of *England*, tells us further, that Bishop *L.* and Bishop *N.* by which must be meant the two Archbishops, *Laud* and *Neal*, proffered the Pope to leave *England*, and go to *Rome*, and for the Credit of that See declare themselves Papists, provided the Pope would allow them at *Rome* the Value of their English Bishopricks, which they computed each at 16000 Crowns *per Annum*: but received for Answer from the Pope's Nephew, Chief Minister of State, who at that time was (as I remember) Cardinal *Francisco Barbarino*, reputed a great Statesman, that if their Conversion were real, they might at *Rome* live comfortably of so many hundred Crowns *per An-*



*nam.* For the Cardinal was jealous, that the bottom of *Land's* Design was a Patriarchal Popedom for *England*, which would have been a bad Example for *France* and other Popish Countries. If any are curious to know further concerning the Affairs of *England* at that time, I refer them to the aforesaid *Mercury*, which is writ in *Italian*.

In the succeeding eighteen Years interval, this Nation received not the least Dishonour, save what happened at *Hispaniola*, in War with *Spain*, during *Cromwell's* Usurpation : For the greatest part of the rest of that time our Neighbours trembled when we frowned; tho since that, the *Catastrophe* hath been such, that we have trembled at their Frowns, occasioned by the Misgovernment of *Charles* the Second, who yet came to the Administration of the Crown most advantageously, not an Enemy daring to shew his Teeth, (excepting that mad Freak of the nine and twenty *Fifth-Monarchy-Men*) he seeming to be the universal Delight of the People. At *Breda* he promised Liberty of Conscience to those dissenting Ministers, that were with others, sent by Parliament to invite him to *England*; and at his Arrival made shew of being true to his Word, by appointing at the *Savoy*, in order thereunto, a Conference betwixt the

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the two Parties, the Conformists and Dissenters ; but the latter being under-hand discountenanced by him, ( who was a great Master of King *James* the First's Art in King-Craft ) it came to nothing more than making their Burdens the heavier ; so that in a short time, the *Presbyterians*, who had been the chief Authors of his Restauration, ( his own Party being then so inconsiderable, that they cannot be said to have contributed more to it, than as Servants to the other ) were most ungratefully used ; their Ministers turn'd out of their Livings ; their Families exposed to live in a great measure upon Charity ; and that by him whom they had brought from that Condition himself, to the enjoyment of three Crowns.

His first Parliament acted regularly with an Eye to publick Good and Quiet ; passing an Act of Indemnity for all, some few excepted ; which he seemed to approve so much of, that in his cunning and cajoling way, he gave them the Name of the Healing-Parliament, and then dissolved it, calling another more to his purpose : after which, how he kept his Indemnity, appears by his usage of the great and incomparable Sir *Henry Vane*, Alderman *Ireton*, Mr. *Samuel Moyer*, Major *Gladman*, &c. In taking away the Life of the first, not only con-

trary to Faith, but as may be said against an Act of Parliament, there being a Petition of both Houses with the Royal Assent for his Security, wanting nothing to give it the Sanction of a Law save empty Formalities, as not being writ in Parchment, &c. which could be no Absolution of the King as to his Consent to the Petition of both Houses : And this ought to be of odious Memory to all Posterity, as also the murdering Principles of the Counsellors of that time, who influenced the Barbarity thereof. And if any say, we ought to forgive, and not remember what was ill in them that are dead : it may be answered, that Mankind hath no other means to keep Tyrants and their Adherents in awe, than by letting them know that their evil, no more than their good Deeds die with them ; but will be equally transmitted to Posterity, as necessary for Information of succeeding Ages : for, had it not been always so, the World had been ignorant of former Transactions. And besides this detestable Breach of Faith, this *Charles* the Second kept the rest of the forementioned Persons in Prison, contrary to the Act of Indemnity, until, like Slaves at *Algiers*, they redeemed their Liberty by great Sums, as Alderman *Ireton*, and Mr. *Samuel Moyer*, &c. whilst others, under the like Tyranny, stood

stood it out till the *Habeas Corpus* Act came in use, after the withdrawing of Chancellor *Hide*, (which for seven or eight Years had been denied, or from the Iniquity of the Times, durst not be moved for) were freed by Law without Fines. And this perfidious Breach of Faith was rather applauded by his Party than blamed, and not taken notice of by the Parliament.

He pretended great Zeal for the Reformed Religion, with an Abhorrence of Popery ; yet in favour of the latter, endeavoured to set the Conformists at the greatest difference with the Dissenters by several Acts against the latter, and severe Prosecution thereupon. And this, whilst at the same time all Proceedings against the Papists in the Exchequer upon Conviction were stopped to the preserving of them, when Protestant Dissenters were many of them ruined by close Imprisonments, where they died ; he designing all along no less than Popery and Slavery, even when he pretended the contrary. His two unjust, costly and causeless Wars with *Holland*, being in order thereunto ; as was the burning of *London*, and the Popish Plot discovered by *Dr. Oats* ; yet rather than be thought to have any hand in the latter, he suffered about twenty Persons, which he is strongly suspected

suspected to have employed in it, to die for it.

When the burning of *London*, the frequent subsequent Fires in *Southwark*, *St. Katharines*, and several parts of the City, &c. would not serve his Ends, he contrived a Protestant Plot for murdering of himself, and (as he untruly suggested) introducing a Commonwealth; and as the most probable Instrument, (as he thought, tho therein mistaken) Mr. *Clapol*, a Son-in-Law of *Cromwel*, must be charged with it, and without the least ground clapped up in Prison, in the closest way; and had not the real Popish Plot broke out, he had surely been sacrificed to give Credit to the Forgery; but Mr. *Clapol*'s unsutable Principles to such a Design was enough to detect the Fraud and Villany, he having been in the Civil Wars, reckoned all along a Royalist and Anti-Republican. And thus ill Men are sometimes caught in their own Snares, as this King was by his Mistake in this Person.

This King having by turning and changing, got Judges and Counsellors to his purpose, corrupting by Pensions, &c. a Majority in the Parliament, carried all things as he pleased, till at last he lost his Credit by the odiousness of the Popish Plot, and his Compliance with *France*, to the advancing that King to what he is now  
come

come to ; teaching him ( compared to what he knew before ) to build Ships, man, victual and sail them ; nay, even to fight, and sound our Coasts and Rivers ; which was done in the time of his unhappy Administration, especially in the Year 1672, in joyning with him against *Holland*, when none of his Ships were suffered to fight, but stand by and learn ; that one *French* Commander that did ingage, being ( as it's said ) at his return clapp'd in the *Bastile* for it, which we never heard was complained of by us, nor excused by them. Nay, not to be wanting in any thing towards the Advancement of the *French* King, we gave him *Canada*, that necessary place for our *Newfound-Land* Fishery, ( our chief Nursery for Seamen ) for an insignificant part, compared to *Canada*, of the Island of *St. Christophers*, which had belonged to us, under pretence, that he had taken it from us in our former War with the *Dutch*, when he sided with them against us, and served them as he did us, never appearing with them ; making use only of his Declaration of War for them, to the end, to set us together by the Ears ; that so he might have the better opportunity to set up himself, and worm us ( as in a great measure he hath done ) out of our *Newfound-Land* Fishery, and hath taken it  
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to himself: whereas formerly they used to pay us a kind of Tribute for Liberty of Fishing there; but now through our favour and carelesness they are arrived to that height of Fishing, that they are said to imploy so many Men in it, as produceth them five thousand new Seamen yearly; so that, by the Conduct of our Counsellors, this King is, since 1662, when he had hardly twenty Men of War great and small, is come now to be Master of 150 at least. But tho by his wise Management of Affairs, and our bad, he in the Year 1690, rode in our Channel without controul, I hope he will never do so more, nor ever be encouraged to intitle himself to the Dominion of the Narrow Seas; except God for our Sins gives us over to be again betray'd by our Counsellors as formerly: for tho Kings themselves may be ill Men, yet without the like Counsellors, they cannot perpetrate their evil Designs. And methinks no true English-man should be able to hear of the Greatness of the *French* at Sea, without having his Heart raised with Indignation against the two last Reigns, their Favourites, Counsellors and Adherents; for that it is since the fore-mentioned 1662, that he hath been advanced to what he now is, as if the Design of our Government was then, solely and purely to advance the  
French



French Tyranny, and destroy the Liberty of the English Nation.

This Government of ours hath been by our late Kings carried on by Tricks, which our Statists valued themselves upon, as the Effect of their great Wisdom; whereas it is truly nothing more than the Transcendency of Immorality, in which honest Men have not a Latitude. The Design of this Reign being all along to raise undeservedly this King to the highest Estimation with the People, that they might with the more Facility increase his Revenue and Prerogative. At the opening of a Sessions after a Prorogation, the then Lord-Keeper, to magnify the King's Merits, informed both Houses of Parliament of the mighty Things he had done during the Interval for the Advantage of the Nation: amongst which, that he had procured a free Trade to *Villa Franca*, as if it had been some eminent *Emporium*, with which we never before had had any Commerce; whereas it is but an insignificant place lying upon the *Mediterranean*, belonging to the Duke of *Savoy*, where our Seamen, as they pass by, may peradventure sell to the Value of four or five hundred Pounds in English Silk-Stockings, and such like Trifles: and this was done by the Court, presuming on the Ignorance of all but themselves, as a Trick to open  
the

the Purse of the Nation, to serve their Luxury, and stifle the Memory of the mischievous sale of *Dunkirk*, to the advancing the *French's* Greatness at Sea, which is of no antienter date, than since the Purchase of that Harbour, having before had little Encouragement for Increase at Sea, and consequently in Trade. And O that an Inquiry after the treacherous Instruments of those Times may be made ! that if any are in being, they may be laid aside to prevent their doing any more so wickedly. And if good Harbours and Havens be of such Import for the increase of Naval Strength and Trade, that by the addition of *Dunkirk* the French in a few Years became (from little or nothing) so formidable both at Sea and in Trade ; How doth it accuse us of want of Counsel in the Sale of *Dunkirk*, and of Negligence in not improving the Advantages God and Nature hath given us above other Nations, in an excellent Situation, and plenty of transcendent Havens and Ports round the two Kingdoms of *England* and *Ireland*, whilst *France* hath none save *Brest*, *Marseillis* and *Toulon*, worth speaking of. To enumerate their deceitful Artifices is hard, they are so many. This King at his Restauration in 1660, made a League with the States-General in design to prepare for

a War with them, having then found his Naval Forces very low.

In 1664, he began to quarrel with them without the least cause, and against their real Endeavours for preventing it: But *Downing*, being Envoy Extraordinary at the *Hague*, to remove their Jealousy of us, which was great, gave them, according to the Policy of those Times, all assurance of Friendship, telling them, that if their *East-India* Ships then expected, were above *London-Bridg*, they would be as safe as in their own Harbours; yet their Merchants Ships to about the number, as it is said, of 120, were upon frivolous pretences, first stopped as they came into our Channel, till at last some Months after, without Declaration of War, or any Cause shewn, they were confiscated; and at the same time their *Smirna* Fleet was fallen upon before *Cadiz*; whereupon *Downing* thought fit to make a hasty Retreat by *Mazeland-Sluce*. And this Action was as little to our Honour as Profit; for tho we sunk one or two of their Ships, to their great Damage, we took none; and for those seized at home, our Management was so commendable, that upon the sale of them, as I have heard, the King was made Debtor: And thus this War began, which prospered in our hands according to the Justice of it.

The

The first Year of this War, the *Dutch East-India* Fleet coming home by the North of *Scotland*, upon the King of *Denmark's* promise of Security, or at least relying upon their League with him, put into *Bergen* in *Norway*; where they were presently block'd up by our Fleet, under the Command of the Earl of *Sandwich*, who sent in some Ships to seize them, and had had them delivered, had not the Courier with Orders from *Copenhagen*, come too late to the Governour; *Sandwich's* Ships being beaten off and retired with Loss, before the Orders came: for our Agent in *Denmark* had agreed with that King concerning them; but *Sandwich* not having notice of the Treaty, the Design was lost by falling too soon upon these Ships.

This War lasted near three Years, reckoning from our first seizing of their Ships: The third Year the King had given him 1250000 *l.* for that Summer's War; but it was the Wisdom and Honesty of our Counsellors, out of good Husbandry, to save the Money, by not setting forth a Fleet; which gave opportunity to our Enemies to burn our Ships in Harbour, for which we made an horrid Outcry against them, as treacherous, in doing it in the time of our Treaty with them for Peace at *Breda*; falsely adding, That it was contrary to a  
Cessation

Cessation agreed upon : whereás when a Cessation was desired by us, they positively denied it ; which is sufficient to vindicate the Integrity of their Proceedings, in answer to ignorant popular Clamour. And indeed, tho our Counsellors might be willing, for their Defence, to have the People understand this disgraceful Affront to proceed from Falseness in the *Dutch*, I never heard that they at any time did publickly accuse them of Breach of Faith in this Matter or Action:

Being thus worsted, it was pretended that want of Money was the Cause, tho upon Examination of the Accounts, by the Commissioners appointed by Act of Parliament to that end, there was not much above half spent of what was given expressly for that War ; which evinces our Miscarriage to proceed from corrupt Counsels, want of Conduct, and not Money.

A Peace being concluded, to be revenged on the Dutch for what was our own Fault, we invited them and the Crown of *Sweden* to a Triple League with us against *France*, for restraining that King in his aspiring Designs ; wherein the Dutch were real ; when our Design was only to render them odious to the French King, and enrage him against them, that by our then joyning with him, we might both together destroy  
D them;

them, and in them the Protestant chief Bulwark.

Accordingly in 1671, at the Interview at *Dover*, betwixt *Charles II.* and his Sister the Dutcheſs of *Orleance*, it was agreed to break the Triple League, to joyn with *France* againſt the Dutch; and to ſatisfy the *Swede* for this Breach, Mr. *Henry Coventry* was ſent Ambaſſador to that Crown, who procured from them the Diſſolution of the League. When this was done, and we had recovered Breath, after the Diſgrace we received in the former War, to have a pretence for a ſecond; One of our Yachts was ordered, in her coming from *Holland*, to ſteer out of her Courſe, and through the States Naval Fleet, then riding at Sea, that in caſe the whole Fleet did not ſtrike to our Boat, we might make that the Ground of a Quarrel.

That great Commander *de Ruyter*, then Admiral, not thinking their Articles of Peace could be underſtood to reach ſuch a little Circumſtance, did not answer our Demands or Expectation: and for not doing it, together with ſome Trivial Medals and Pictures, (which that People are much addicted to) was made the Cauſe of a Quarrel without Remedy; and Dr. *Stubbs*, as a fit Man for the Work, was ſent for out of the Country, to maintain by Writing the



the Justice of our Cause, which for 400 *l.* he performed the best he could, by two large Pamphlets; in the latter of which having been too free, in his magnifying the wise and excellent Management of the War against the Dutch, in that time called a Commonwealth, when we first made known unto the World our Greatness at Sea in beating them when in their *Zenith*, (which cost, with the Ships in that time built, 2100000 *l.*) this Pamphlet was for some time stopped, till there being a necessity for it, then it passed. And when *Stubbs* was by a Friend of mine questioned, how he could in Conscience write so falsely and injuriously against the Dutch? He confessed, he could write much more for them, than he had done against them, if he would.

And as the War at Sea cost at that time the two first Years, which were the chargeablest, 2100000 *l.* so at the same time a Land Army of 50000 Horse and Foot, did not cost, according to the Account given *Richard's* Parliament, 80000 *l. per Annum*; Shirking and Cheating being then out of fashion: for it may be observed that there is but one Family that was raised by Imployment under the then Government, and that neither till *Cromwel's* Usurpation, but many the worse in their Estates for their Affection to their Country; and an Instance

may be given, which, I think, cannot be parallel'd in any Age or Nation, of two Families (besides many others whose Sufferings were less) who were each 100000 *l.* the worse for siding with the prevailing Party. I know the ordinary Answer to this is, by the Enemies of those Times, (who cannot bear the hearing of the then Self-denial) that this could not have been bragged of, had they not lost their publick Lands, by the Restauration of *Charles the Second*: To which may be replied,

First, That there was so little of private Ends aimed at in those then at the Helm, that never were any Lands of so hazardous a Title sold at so high Rates; the Church-Lands in *Henry the Eighth's* Time were given away, compared to these.

Secondly, There were very few, whose Advantage by either Civil or Military Employments, tho then frugal living was in vogue, had enabled them to purchase above 2 or 300 *l. per Annum*, publick Title; which hath been nothing in latter Times for a Sub-Officer in two or three Years to arrive at, of secure Tenure.

*Sir Arthur Haslerig* is usually quoted in Answer hereunto; but very improperly, for he was born to 3000 *l. per Annum*: upon which he took up the Money wherewith he made his Purchase, and most of the Purchasers

Purchasers at that time of publick Lands, were private Persons, hope of Profit attempting thereunto, who ought to be rather the Objects of Pity than Envy, coming thereby by the loss. Upon the whole, the then Government cannot be taxed with ill Husbandry, in imbezeling the publick Stock, by under Sales, extraordinary Salaries, Annuities, Pensions or Rewards, to increase a Party for Arbitrary Government, as in the two last Reigns was done.

The Commissioners of the Navy, a Subordinate Committee to the Admiralty, had moderate Salaries; but the Commissioners of the Admiralty their Masters (whose Management Dr. *Stubbs* magnifies, in his Defence of our War with *Holland* in 1672.) acted *gratis*, without any Perquisites or Advantage to themselves. But to prevent Mistakes, this relates only to the Years before *Cromwel's* Usurpation; for in defence of his 4 Years and  $\frac{1}{2}$  I have nothing to say that is commendable; for tho he found the Government before-hand, the Stores full, and the Army some Months in Advance, he left, according to the Account brought in to his Son *Richard's* Parliament, a Debt of 1800000 *l.* but to do him Right, not from ill Husbandry, but from his Error in Politicks; for tho he understood home-Matters very well, he did not Foreign

Affairs, as appeared by his quarrelling with *Spain*, and joining with *France*, by which he contracted the aforesaid Debt: and as if God was displeased with the Injustice of his Design, he was most remarkably blasted in it at *Hispaniola*.

There is yet living (if not very lately dead) the Treasurers of War, and of the Navy in those Times, none of which have any thing to brag of; for in those days Men were so spirited for that they called Publick-Good, that they did not vie who should get or cozen most, as was in the two last Reigns, but who should merit most Honour by their Service for their Country. The incomparable General *Ireton* used to say, it was an Honour for a Man to die a Beggar in the Service of his Country; and accordingly he never sought himself, in adding to what he was born to; but God, as seeming pleased with his vertuous and self-denying Principles, hath providentially provided for his Family, beyond what could have been expected from his Paternal Estate: and the transmitting this to Posterity is the least the World owes to the Memory of this great and good Man.

After a Pretence for War agreed on, the next thing requisite was to find a Fund for the Charge, which was very difficult; for the Parliament having by woful Experience  
felt,

felt, from ill Conduct, the Burden of the first War, was unwilling to engage in a second: but at last the new made Lord *Clifford*, with the help of his Friends, projected the stopping of all private Payments in the Exchequer: for which, as a Reward, he had the Treasurers White Staff given him. The Fund gained hereby being about 13 or 1400000 *l.* which was a loss to particular Creditors, many of them being ruined by it; so that from the Immorality of the Project, the Author of it deserved rather another Reward, than that he received.

The War was commenced without any previous Declaration, by falling upon their *Smirna* Fleet in the Channel (as we had done in the first War before *Cadiz*) as they were upon their Voyage home, wherein we miscarried, as well to our Dishonour in being worsted, as in beginning the War by Surprise. In this War we should have had the Assistance of *France*, and had a Squadron of that King's Ships joined us, but in design only to teach them to fight, sound our Coasts, and not help us; for (as it is before mentioned) that one Ship which from ignorance of the Intrigue, did fight, the Captain of her at his return home was (as is reported) clapp'd up in the *Bastile* for hazarding his Master's Ship. The Parliament perceiving the drift of the *French*

to be the weakning of both Parties, that at long-run he might become Superior to either or both, pressed the King to a Peace betwixt Us and the Dutch ; which he (tho unwillingly) consented to ; for not knowing how to deny so just a Request, a Peace was concluded.

Now new Measures were taken, and a new Minister of State made choice of, one intirely devoted to the King's Will without reserve. To gain the King's Ends, a Majority of the Members of Parliament was corrupted by Pensions, which were liberally bestowed upon such as were of depraved Principles, fit for any Mischief : by which means, every thing, during some time, was brought bare-fac'd into the House of Commons, and afterwards by side-Winds for the King's particular Designs, passed currently ; until the Court going too high for a standing Revenue, the Pensioners suspecting, that when that was gained, their Pensions would cease, they turned readily against the Court ; which caused them, for gaining Money from the Parliament, to pretend a Quarrel with *France*, and in all haste to raise an Army to that end : and to procure belief of their real Intentions, a Book under the Title of *Christianissimus Christianandus*, writ by Dr. *Marchemond Needham*, was published, rendring the French King so  
scanda-



scandalous in all his Ways, Actions and Designs, as cannot be thought would have been writ, without having first that King's Leave for writing it.

The Parliament, to take away from the King all Pretences of Complaint, gave him a Supply, by which he raised an Army; but finding in the Issue, that he was not real in his Pretensions for a War, by refusing to declare War, they pressed him to disband his new-raisd Army; and to effect the same, gave him Money to do it with; appointing Sir *Gilbert Gerrard*, Sir *Thomas Player*, Col. *Whisley*, and Col. *Birch* to see it done; who discharged the Trust reposed in them with all Fidelity and Honesty.

These Arts or Tricks used for the Service of the French King, by which our Parliament was disobliged, our King had no cause to doubt but that that King would hold himself obliged to assist him; and therefore he was applied to, and probably he had gained from him a Stipend of 300000 *l. per Annum* for some Years, had not the Duke of *Buckingham* prevented it: and upon what other account, than of being a Friend to his Native Country, is unknown: However, he did not only thereby irrecoverably lose the Favour of the Court, but also drew so much the Hatred of it upon himself, that he was prosecuted for a Crime, which,

which, tho the Authors of the Prosecution made little Conscience of the thing themselves, they hoped by it to have taken away his Life, for being instrumental in preserving the Life of the Nation.

The Discovery of these, and other pernicious Designs, begot (not without cause) a great Jealousy in the Parliament, of the Court and their Party ; which carried them on to the addressing the King against some considerable Persons, as evil Counsellors ; which was for some time avoided by Adjournments and Prorogations of Parliament, till the horrid Popish Plot breaking out, those Tricks could not longer hinder the impeaching several of them in Parliament for the highest of Crimes, bringing one of them to the Block ; as had not the Dissolution of Parliaments prevented it, the rest in all likelihood had had the same fate, all of them having been arraigned at the Bar of the Lords House, where some pleaded Guilty in pleading the King's Pardon ; by which, Time being got for arguing the Point, till by the Dissolution of several Parliaments, (which was on purpose to prevent Justice) they were unduly preserved : for no such Pardon (as the Lawyers say) against an Impeachment in Parliament is valuable in Law ; and the King having no Power to pardon Offences, where in the Indictment he

he is not made a Party, as he is not by Impeachments in Parliament, they being by the House of Commons, in the Name of All the Commons of *England*. The Dissolution of Parliaments doth not give Prisoners at the Suit of the Commons the Privilege of being bailed, no Inferiour Court having by Law any such Power ; especially the fault of their not being brought to Trial not being in the Parliament, but in the King, in not suffering them to sit till they had cleared, or passed Judgment upon them, as he ought to have done.

This King ( an Artist in King *James* the First's King-Craft ) observing his Conduct to have lost all Reputation, confessed by a Declaration his Error, in governing his Affairs by Cabals, and not by Parliaments, and his Privy-Council, by whose Advice he had always thriven best ; resolving for the future to be advised by them, without Cabals : And in Conformity thereunto, he dissolved entirely, by the said Declaration, his Privy Council, and chose another, under the notion of a new Council, into which was taken some of the most popular and honest Members of the House of Commons ; as the good Lord *Russel*, the then Lord *Cavendish*, Sir *Henry Capel*, Mr. *Powle*, &c. but the Majority being of the old Leaven, they soon found the Design of bringing them into the Council

Council was meerly to give Credit to their sinister Proceedings ; which made them as soon unanimously withdraw, rather than be in the least necessary to their unwarrantable and destructive Counsels and Actions. So that tho some will have the small time these Gentlemen were in Council, to have been a great Advantage to the Court, in their Reputation, and blame them for it, I am of a contrary Opinion ; and that there could not have been a greater, and more prejudicial Affront put upon a Prince, than that by such an unanimous and publick leaving of his Council, in a way that amounted to no less than a Protest against his Proceedings ; which could not but make a more disadvantageous Impression on the Minds of the People, than so short a Continuance with them could be of advantage to the King.

Now new Measures are again taken, and with them a new Minister of State chosen ; several Parliaments are dissolved, and new ones called, in hopes of getting one at last to serve their turn ; but the People growing more and more sensible of the Growth of Popery and Slavery, sent such sutable Members to the Condition of the Nation, that they were almost as soon dissolved as assembled, for three Parliaments successively ; and then, to be revenged of the Corporations for sending such Members, and of the  
Members

Members themselves for being averſe to the Deſtruction of the Nation, *Quo Warranto's*, by the Advice of a new Set of evil Counſellors, were brought to take away the old, and give them new Charters, that might ſubject them to the Arbitrary Will of the Prince; (illegal in the higheſt degree.) Nay, Boroughs by Preſcription were deſtroyed, and Charters impoſed upon them, to the infringing of their Privileges. *Hereford*, I think, was the firſt that had a new Charter impoſed upon them, by which all Power was ſo reſerved in the King, as an Example for thoſe that ſhould follow, that one might have thought ſhould have wrought an Hatred in all true Engliſh-Men, to the Authors or Abettors of ſuch Counſels. For a more miſchievous Deſign for inflaming the Nation could not be projected.

The Charter of *London*, by many Acts of Parliament, and in the comprehenſiveſt manner confirmed, was ſo gallantly defended by the City, nothing material being againſt them, as appears by the learned Arguments of the Lord Chief Juſtice *Pollixfen*, and Mr. Attorney General *Treby*, that one may wonder there ſhould be Lawyers found to plead againſt it; and that ſuch were found, is a Reproach upon their Perſons for being too mercenary.

As *Quo Warranto's* were for being re-  
 venged of the Corporations; so a Protestant  
 Plot was contrived, as well to stifle the  
 Popish Plot, as to destroy such Gentlemen  
 as were thought to stand in the way of  
 Arbitrary Power and Popery, by false Evi-  
 dence, leaving treasonable Papers at their  
 Houses, (as was done at Mr. *Dubois's* House  
 in *London*) or putting them into their  
 Pockets, and then seizing them, (of which  
 Mr. *Fitz-Harris* gave my Lord *Shaftsbury*  
 warning:) Which made those that knew  
 they were under the Envy of the Court,  
 when they were to come into Crowds, to  
 sow up their Pockets, to prevent practising  
 such Tricks upon them.

*Fitz-Harris*, whose Province it was to  
 act in these ways, to get or make treaso-  
 nable Lampoons, to trapan Persons fallily  
 judged to be of Antimonarchical Principles,  
 for not playing his part well, and fearing  
 his Discovery, according to his Promise to  
 the then Sheriffs, of the Popish Plot, had a  
 Rope for his Reward, being drawn, hang'd  
 and quartered; but, as a Gratuity for his  
 weak Endeavours, his Head and Quarters  
 were given to his Wife to bury. Soon after  
 he was dead, an impudent, false and lying  
*Confession* was made for him, as is fully de-  
 monstrated by the published Answer of those  
 concerned in it, under the Title of *Truth*  
*vindicated,*



*vindicated, in reference to the Aspersions cast upon Sir Robert Clayton, &c. published in the Name of Dr. Hawkins, as Edward Fitz-Harris's Confession.* As also, the falseness of this *Confession* appears by the last Actions of his Life, (*viz.*) the Paper he read at his Execution, which was printed; and his giving the Sheriffs Thanks for their Civility and Kindness to him, which were his last Words; and yet by his *Confession*, he is made to complain of them.

The design of *this Confession*, and publishing of it, was by it to vindicate the Guilty, and accuse the Innocent; for certain Persons being determined for Destruction, it was thought fit to make them hereby odious to the People; that when they should be murdered by form of Law, their Deaths might be the less resented.

To give an Instance of the Evidence made use of in these Times, the Witnesses against my Lord *Shaftsbury* were so scandalous, as Ages to come will not believe that such should be offered against any Man, much less one of his Quality: As *Booth*, a Minister of the Church of *England*, and Parson of *Ogle* in *Northumberland*; well-known to be an infamous Rascal, and violently suspected for the Murder of one of his Servants, to conceal his Clipping of Money, of which he was (notwithstanding) convicted;

convicted, and condemned, and had been hanged, had not the Duke of *Newcastle*, who gave him his Parsonage at *Ogle*, begged his Pardon. And I have heard an honest Divine of the Church, who had known him from his Youth, say, that he could write a Volume of his Rogueries : So that nothing less than shameless Impudence could have produced him against the Life, Honour, or Estate of any one. The rest of the Witnesses were not better, as the Affidavits hereunto annexed do evince, *Barry* (or *Narrative-Smith*) being one, &c. And that such Evidence might pass with the Grand-Jury, both they and the Witnesses were heard in Court, that the first might be brow-beaten, and the latter countenanced, and hear what one another said ; (at least an unusual Method, if not contrary to Law.) And to help all forward, the Lord Chief Justice told the Grand-Jury, that they were not to enquire into the Credibility of the Witnesses ; whilst the Law, in express words, speaks the contrary. And to make all sure, that none should escape, whom the Court at *Whitehall* would have destroyed, the Witnesses to an Indictment brought against a Combination of Rogues, for Perjury, and Subordination of Perjury, to disable them for taking away the Lives of the Innocent, the Lord Chief Justice refused

to swear them, because against the King's Evidence, except the Attorney-General would give leave; who, he could not but know, was too much of the Court-Faction to do it: By which means those Villains escaped Conviction, and left at Liberty to hang whom they pleased. And tho Mr. *Beethel*, then Sheriff, complained publickly in Court, that he had Affidavits to prove his Life so far designed against, that those profligate Rascals offered (in *August* 1681.) to lay Wagers of ten to one that they would hang him before *Christmas* following, he could not procure any Proceedings against them: But it is believed that his Complaint had this Effect, that it hindr'd the Attorney-General's producing a Bag of Indictments he had then ready against several honest and innocent Persons, against whom these Varlets should have been made use of. And this was the Consequence of the Court's turning out and changing Judges till they had got Men for their turn, who would make any thing Law the Court would have; and who having by Pensions and Rewards, got Witnesses to swear accordingly; and by packing of Juries, got such as would find what they would have found, it was in the King's Power to hang whom he pleased; and that of a large List of Persons marked out for Destruction, there were

no more murdered, must be ascribed to the over-ruling Hand of Providence. The Lord deliver us from the like Times, when Judges, Juries, Witnesses and Counsel, all strive who should most signalize their Zeal for Tyranny, by strains of Wit, and wresting of Law; as appears by Mr. *Hawle's* Remarks upon some of the Trials of those Times. Besides, ambitious Citizens, Officers in Places of Profit, Pensioners, and Suitors for the like, were all the same; insomuch that it might in some measure be said, that *all Flesh had corrupted their Ways*: and if we should again hunt with the same Dogs, they would start the same Hare.

The Parliament by several Acts hath judged the Lord *Russel*, Colonel *Sidney*, Alderman *Cornish* murdered, voted Sir *Thomas Armstrong* the same, reversed several unjust Verdicts to the perpetual Infamy of all those Juries, and yet have pardoned most of the Murderers and Oppressors by an Act of Indemnity; which I wish may not bring a Judgment upon us, to the blasting our Designs, ( Murder and Oppression being crying Sins ) nor encourage the like in the future against all that shall stand in the way of Arbitrary Government, if ever we should have a King that affects it. However, I doubt not but God will protect his Church and People for his own Name sake, humble their

their Enemies, and that great Tyrant of *France*: but yet, without Reformation, I fear we shall share but little in the Honour of the Work; but that God in Mercy will effect otherwise, his Dealings in the World being unconceivable.

The corrupting and vitiating the Nation had been long designed, as necessary for introducing Popery and Slavery: for whilst Men are vertuous, and not afraid of the Laws, they will expect and contend for the benefit of them; but when by Debauchery and Immorality they stand in need of Indulgence for incouragement of their Lusts, they will be careless of their Civil Rights; and therefore the lewdest Examples were thought fit to be given them, with Connivance at their Practice, as in Swearing, Whoring, Drinking, Atheistical and Blasphemous Drollery, discouraging all Religion, save what consisted in meer Formality, without discouraging Dissoluteness; some of the worst of Men being made choice of to gratify with Honours, Pensions and Places of Profit. But of all the odious ways used to gain a Party, none like that, of teaching Youths to drink Healths with *Huzzas*, crying up the Breach of Laws for Loyalty, ( when nothing is such, but Obedience according to Law, the contrary being Disloyalty ) as was the publick Feasting of

the Apprentices of *London* with the King's Venison, not leaving it in the Power of their Masters, without making themselves obnoxious, to forbid them that School of Vertue, or command Obedience in contradiction thereof: and that this should be projected by the greatest of the Court, who graced their Society with their Presence, may be reckoned, for all their Wit, an Error in Politicks, in courting in such manner the *Mobile*, or rather Rabble (as it was no less) in whom there is no Constancy; for being acted by present Apprehensions or Humour, they are as uncertain as the Wind; nothing being to be relied upon, save honest unselfish Principles, for such will in the end prevail in spite of all the Devils in Hell; and in the Faith of this I shall die, tho I may not live to see it. And I cannot but observe in this place, that of these the Gallows have since claimed her Right to some of the Heads and Ring-leaders for the most enormous Crimes, as Murder and Theft, to the Credit of their Fraternity.

These and such like Courses, which most of our conforming Clergy teaching from their Pulpits (as also in Taverns and Coffee-houses) the Doctrine of *Passive Obedience* and *Non-Resistance without limitation*, have so poison'd the Nation, that without an extraordinary  
Work



Work of God, a Recovery cannot be expected : for tho I think, the good People of *England* of all Communions are the best ; I believe the Profane, as they are by ill Examples of late Years brought unto, are the worst of Men, exceeding all others in wicked and immoral Practices ; which we owe chiefly, to the two last Kings Examples, their evil and pernicious Counsellors and Favourites.

It is a Maxim in our Law, *That the King can do no Wrong*, which must refer only to Matters of State, and not Personal Actions ; for that it cannot be denied, but he that lies with another Man's Wife, or kills his Neighbour, &c. doth them Wrong : but as the King in other cases must act by Instruments ; so it is but reasonable they should be answerable for Miscarriages in Government ; because being free Agents, what they do is of choice, the Service of Princes being sought and not compelled ; and were it not for Evil Counsellors, Princes would not be so bad as they often are. Queen *Elizabeth* of famous Memory, her Vertue appeared, not only in her natural, just and equal Principles, but also in the Election of futable Counsellors, Men at least morally honest, aiming more at publick than their own private Benefit ; she encouraged Vertue, making Honour the Reward of it,

and not of Pimping and all manner of Vice ; she reprov'd her great Favourite, that unhappy Earl of *Essex*, whom she made General in her Expedition for *Cadiz*, for conferring the Honour of Knighthood upon some few, whose Service at that time he judg'd deserved it, when she thought a less Reward might have served. In her time, Knighthood was not expected voluntarily by any Citizens save the Lord-Mayor ; nor was it thought of by the two succeeding Kings, till *Charles* the First, at his Return from *Scotland* in 1641, after failing in his Design there against Duke *Hamilton*, Marquis of *Argile*, and General *Lesly*, &c. thinking it a convenient way to corrupt a Party for his intended Quarrel with the Parliament, that he Knighted several Aldermen of the City of *London* ; and after that, both he and his Son *Charles* the Second made liberal use of their Sword in Dubbing all that came near them, from whom they could hope for the least Assistance in their Design for Popery and Slavery ; the Deliverers of Addresses, abhorring petitioning for Parliaments, as likewise those giving Thanks for dissolving the best of Parliaments, &c. being procured by the Emissaries of *Charles* the Second, could not in the opinion of those that hated Parliaments, deserve less than a Knighthood, to the encourage-  
ment

ment of others to follow their Example. It may be the Enemies to this good Queen will object that she had some angry Fits : To which may be answered, that they were born with, as Children at such times do with their Parents, being satisfied that she had a true and sincere Love for the Nation ; upon which account some little Passions subject to her Sex might very well be incurred.

The Estates that have by corrupt ways to advance the Prerogative been raised, and Honours conferred in the four last Reigns, especially since the Restauration, exceed, I believe, above forty times those in the Reign of Queen *Elizabeth* ; and yet the number of Years of all their Reigns, abating the eighteen Years Interval, comes a quarter part short of doubling hers : she made few Lords, about four or five, very sparing of Knighthood, and never conferred any, but ( as is before noted ) for Merit ; and accordingly she thriv'd in the Love of her Subjects at home, and Honour abroad. In her time the Nation was famous for glorious Actions, as before mentioned, in relieving the oppressed Protestants in *France*, *Scotland* and *Holland*, which she could not have done, had she been tied up by the late devised Doctrine of *Passive Obedience* and *Non-Resistance* ; besides subduing her

Rebels in *England* as well as in *Ireland*, and pulling down, when none else could do it, the proud House of *Austria*, designing then the Universal Monarchy; whereas I do not find one generous or honourable Act to be boasted of during the last four Reigns.

There are two ill Notions in behalf of Statists, which to the Prejudice of Mankind have prevailed in the World, the one the calling *Knavery* Reason of State, by which they excuse all their sinister and wicked Designs, as if God had left us without honest means for preserving our selves; the other, that *Wit* and *Parts* do alone qualify a Person for the Service of his Prince in his weightiest Affairs: It's true, such Qualities are Ornaments, and with Honesty without Debauchery, (which provokes God's Judgments) are fittest for Publick Employment, and below Adoration cannot be too much magnified and applauded; yet good Ordinary Parts with Diligence and Integrity, is much beyond the highest flown Parts without the other: and we find great things have been done by such as have not otherwise exceeded than in Uprightness, Industry and Sincerity; for without these Vertues, Men are but like the Devils, the worse for their Wit. And this Notion may be illustrated by the following Story. In 1648, after the end of our second War, when

when the Cavaliers (as they were then called) came to *London* to compound, some of the King's Officers invited a Parliament Major of Horse, that had been civil to them, to a Treat, to which he carried me with him: their Discourse was not without Oaths, Custom having made Swearing natural to them; but Healths (in Civility to their Guest) they forbore, because they knew he would not pledg them, drinking a Health at that time being enough to turn any one out of his Command. After Dinner, when Tobacco came up, some kept the Table in respect to him they had invited, others rose with their Pipes in their Hands, and in the middle of the Room by sometimes smoking, sometimes shaking their Heels, and singing, they diverted themselves; which gave occasion to the Gentleman that invited me, to bid me observe their Humour, telling me that such was their Practice when they should have been a fighting, not from Cowardise or want of Courage, as he said, but from the Vanity of their Minds. From whence I conclude, that it was not the Parliament's Party exceeding the King's in Wit, Military Skill or Bravery, that got them the Victory or Conquest, but exceeding them in Integrity, Industry, Sobriety and Diligence that did it. And I remember that never-to-be-forgotten Honourable

nourable Person, Col. *Algernon Sydney*, at his Return from his Exile in *France*, and not long before he was murdered, told me that that King's Council had taken up the long Parliament's Discipline for their Example, which he said would render him Great; whereas our falling from those Principles has brought us to what we now are: For Lieutenant General *Kirk's* Practice was never like to thrive; an Irish Lord told me that he was present, when one telling him that Col. *Richards* threatned to Cashire a Souldier for Swearing, he said, affirming it with an Oath, that if he knew any of his Men that would not Swear, Drink, Whore and Game, he would Cashire them; which was but sutable to his reducing Col. *Murry*, and thirteen Troops of Horse (who had done the greatest Service in Defence of *London-Derry*) so soon as the Town was relieved, and for no other Reason that is yet known, than for being too sober, wherein he knew he should oblige our profane Church-men.

Upon the whole; of all Men for publick Employments, those of depraved Principles are to be avoided: and they may infallibly be discovered, if formerly imploy'd, by their Actions in those times: for if they have been wicked in one Reign, they will be the same in another, except there appear in  
them



them a signal Testimony of Repentance and Reformation. And besides, they may be known by their Favourites; for he that makes choice of such for his Confidants as are of immoral Principles, formerly guilty of Injustice, Oppression and Cruelty, may well be concluded to be of the same Principles himself; for *Birds of a Feather flock together*: and that Proverb seldom fails, That *a Man may be known by his Company*.

The Spirit of God saith, *Take away the Wicked from before the King, and his Throne shall be established in Righteousness*: But our last Kings did so little regard this Divine Exhortation, that when the Commons in Parliament (who ought to be accounted good Judges of Mens fitness for State-Employment) have in discharge of their Duties, endeavoured to follow this Advice, by addressing against obnoxious Persons; tho they were never so vile, it was the way to advance them in their Princes Favour, (as *Sibthorp* and *Manwaring*, &c.) to the dignifying and farther rewarding them with Pensions or Places of Profit; and then to protect them by Adjournments, Prorogations or Dissolutions of Parliaments; to which we owe the Diminution of our Glory abroad, and the Exaltation of our lately become great Neighbour.

Now

Now if any of these Persons be in being, tho upon some accounts they may merit a Pardon for former Crimes, it cannot give them an opportunity of acting over again what they have been already guilty of, to the Prejudice and Danger of the Nation, but of being disabled of all farther Imployments, either Ecclesiastical, Civil, or Military.

And till we follow the Maxims of good Queen *Elizabeth* in the choice of Persons for the King and Nation's Service, making Sincerity, Ability, Self-denial and Diligence (after signal Testimony given thereof) the Qualifications for Civil Imployments (as such may be had) and the like, with addition of Gratitude, Affability, easy Access and Fidelity in Military Commands, we shall never recover the Honour we arrived at in her time, tho then we were poor and low to what we now are; and when our Enemies in the whole House of *Austria*, *France*, *Scotland*, *Ireland*, and our Papists at home, might well be thought to have been greater than any we now have; for without these Qualifications, which some for their own end may ridicule, no Military Officers can ever be great.

It is said of *Gustavus Adolphus* (whose Greatness as to Civil as well as Military Art, is mentioned even in naming of him) being

being sensible that no Man abounds so much in Knowledge, that hearing the Sentiments of others may not be of advantage to him, he had his certain places and times for exposing himself to all that had any thing to say by Petition or otherwise ; and so familiarized his Soldiers, that he would sometimes in deep Snows in the Winter march on foot with his Army, and lie in his Tent upon Straw, whereby he made himself Master of the Hearts and Affections of his People of all sorts. My Lord *Bacon* saith, that *Taciturnity* in a Fool is Wisdom, but in a Man of Understanding Weakness ; and agreeable hereunto the Apostle's Instruction, (*Jam. 1. 19.*) *To be ready to hear, and slow to speak*, is to be understood as a Re-proof of those that know not when to speak, and when to be silent.

It is a Debt due to those Heroes who have been indued with these Qualifications, or such of them as were proper for the Post they were in, to have them as Precedents recorded to Posterity in Celebration of their Memories ; as the Grandfather of the present *Landgrave* of *Hess-Castle* is an eminent Instance, That when the Crown of *Sweden* was deserted by all the ruling Princes of *Germany* in making their Peace with the Emperor, save himself, his Faithfulness to his Word was such, that he refused to  
follow

follow their Example, saying, *He would not forfeit his Faith, tho he left not his Son a House to put his Head in*; which provoked the Emperor in 1636, being then Master of the Field, to fall upon him, burning in his Territories (according to common Fame) 3600 Dorps, or Villages, leaving him no considerable Places besides *Cassel* and *Ziegenhagen*, which he could not master; and yet all this could not shake the Fidelity of this great and good Prince: For the Imperialists were no sooner drawn off, after they thought they had ruined him, than he took the Field afresh in 1637, with an Army of his own Subjects, brave and faithful to the Cause, taking that Summer the Town called the *Feicht*, near the City of *Breman*, where I had the Honour and Satisfaction to see him; he took his Winter-Quarters in *East Frizeland* and at *Liere*: it pleased God that Year to take him to himself, exceedingly lamented by all Sorts and Qualities; he left the Conduct of his Affairs (his Children being very young) to his excellent Lady, a Daughter of the House of *Hanover*, near *Franckford* upon the *Main*, who was then with him, and *Mylander*, an experienced Souldier, for her General: and she answering her Husband's and his Ancestors Zeal for the Protestant Religion, and his Faithfulness in her Adhesion to the *Swedes*, she by God's Blessing

Blessing and wise Conduct, recovered by degrees all their Losses ; and by the Peace at *Munster* in 1648, she had given her 500000 Rix Dollars, besides a great Addition to their Inheritance of Ecclesiastical Lands, as a just Reward for their Faithfulness to their Word and Promise by their Declaration in the beginning of the War ; an Example for Princes to be true to their Engagements, as that which is acceptable and pleasing unto God. And this Alienation of Church-Lands could not be hindered by the Pope's Legat, Plenipotentiary at making of the Peace at *Munster*, who was after made Pope *Alexander VII.*

It is recorded of two of the French Kings, and to the Honour of him that used to say, *If Faith were lost in the World, it should be found in him* ; and to the perpetual Infamy of the other who used to say, *That he that knew not how to dissemble, knew not how to reign* ; as if God had left the World destitute of honest means of Preservation ; an Atheistical Principle.

The Iniquity of the late Times was so great, that nothing that could help the introducing of Slavery was left unattempted ; insomuch that we owe our Deliverance meerly to the Providence of God. The giving Power to the King to levy Money in the Interval of Parliaments upon emergent Occasions,

Occasions, which he was to be Judg of,  
 was projected by our Councillors, and that  
 failing, a general Excise for the perfecting  
 our Slavery ; and to get a Majority in the  
 House to effect it, all ways possible were  
 used ; as the buying the Votes of Members  
 of Parliament, by Pensions ( the highest of  
 Treasons in the Judgment of that great  
 Oracle of the Law, Sir *John Maynard* )  
 maintaining Tables at the publick Charge ;  
 managed by some Members of the House,  
 that what could not be done by dry Money,  
 might be by Debauchery, highly odious, as  
 well in the Executors as Designers ; both  
 proceeding from fordid, slavish and un-  
 manly Principles : And so many Members  
 had by these means listed themselves against  
*Magna Charta*, that had they not feared the  
 selling of the Nation would have proved  
 the selling their own Stipends or Wages, all  
 had gone ; which leaves us without being  
 indebted in the least to our Trustees, for  
 refusing to give us up to Arbitrary Power  
 and Popery. But I do not in this deny, but  
 that there were in this a considerable num-  
 ber of worthy Patriots, that would rather  
 have suffered Death, than have sold the  
 Rights and Privileges of their Country,  
 ( whose Names deserve to be writ in Letters of  
 Gold to Posterity, whilst the other to be ob-  
 literated, or marked with Infamy ) had they  
 not



not (alas) been over-voted by a corrupt and depraved Party; which must raise the Indignation of all true free-born Englishmen against those in the late times, that have had any hand in plotting, projecting or abetting the betraying of their Country, if still they continue the same Principles without remorse.

Besides the ways used, as is before-mentioned, for the introducing of Popery and Slavery, it may be observed, That whereas the Designs of good Queen *Elizabeth* were against the Pope and his Adherents, the Designs of our late Governours have been for him and his Friends. All the little Tricks serviceable therein having been made use of; as the imposing Consuls upon our Merchants abroad, in places where they had never been before, meerly at their Charge, to gratify and oblige to them the worst of Men; giving them Patents to levy Money, under pretence of their Office, upon the Subjects without their Consent, contrary to the Fundamental Liberties of *England*, as was done at *Amsterdam*, &c. And the like vigorously endeavoured in behalf of a professed Papist at *Roterdam*, but by the suddenness of our Revolution they failed in that. And also another approach to Arbitrary Government, was the passing by the Rules directed by the Law, for

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chusing Sheriffs for the Counties, and taking them at large, as might be most serviceable to unlimited Will and Lust, &c. And such Practices as these were so many, as are hardly to be enumerated; and now having remembred these, they with what goes before, and our League with *France*, for exalting him in order to his humbling and bringing us low, one may think are enough to render those Times, and the Actors in them odious and unfit for future Trust; nothing that comes from such, tho never so plausibly delivered, but the Integrity of it ought to be suspected: For as formerly they cried out of *Forty one* as a Scarecrow, that Notion being now worn thread-bare, they have taken up that of a *Commonwealth* and the *care of the Church*, to cozen the good People of this Nation into a jealousy of their best Friends, whilst their Enemies work their Ruin; but it is hoped that Experience hath made them wiser, than to be so imposed upon by misapplying of Names.

The word *Commonwealth*, tho the Language of the Law, was endeavoured to be made an obnoxious Character of all such as should speak of Law, or expect the benefit of it; and it is to be feared, that the same Projectors do aim at the same Design, in adding to the word *Commonwealth*, the *Care of the Church*; because a plausible Notion, when

when it is in no danger, except of reducing them to a more sober and vertuous Life and Conversation; otherwise they would think it for the honour of the Church, to have Men of Sobriety and Morality, accounted Members of it; and yet they will not allow any to be of the Church of *England*, tho such as were never at a separate Congregation in their Lives, and as ready and perfect in their Responses, as any Cathedral-Man whatever, if free from Immorality, and for ruling according to Law.

But it is no wonder, that our bigotted Church-men ( who are the only Men I mean ) should be willing to forget *Forty one*, and in place thereof to take up an outcry for *Care of the Church*; because about that time the Committee for scandalous Ministers, appointed by Parliament, discovered great Lewdness and Ignorance in many of the Clergy; and had not the War prevented their Proceedings, they had at that time purged the whole Kingdom of insufficient, Popishly-affected, superstitious and debauched Ministers; but having no Command over any, ( by reason of the War ) save such as were near hand; they could not receive Information from above six or seven Counties, which afforded them ( according to my Information ) not above three Centries; the first of which

( having escaped the Flames of *London* ) is to be bought at Mrs. *Miller's*, Bookseller, near *St. Paul's* Church ; by which it appears, they were so horridly scandalous, that the Parliament could not have exposed the Church, and therein the Bishops of those Times, for want of care in their Visitations, had not Complaints from *Oxford*, for having unjustly deprived them, forced the Parliament for their own Vindication, to make the Names of the particular Ministers with their Crimes known by publishing them in Print.

And if by the outcry of *having a Care of the Church*, is meant the having such another Inquisition, all sober Men will readily agree to it ; and if in the time of *Charles* the First, of so celebrated a Memory for Piety, there was need of such an Inquiry into the Lives, Conversations, Popishly-affected and Insufficiency of the Clergy, it may well be thought much more needful, after the several Reigns of his two Sons. Besides, if they be not prevented, they may, as they have already begun, go on in taking upon them the Legislative Power, by farther Impositions in the Worship of God : For tho the Act for injoyning the Book of Common-Prayer forbids both affirmatively and negatively, any other Method or Form of Service, Rites or Ceremonies than is there

there directed, they are great Non-Conformists, in disobeying that Rule, in several Additions in approach to Popery, as in their second Service, of which a third part of the Congregation cannot hear a word. In the Ministers reading one Verse in the Psalms, and the People another, therein taking the Minister's Office out of his hands. In the Minister and Clark reading together with a loud Voice the Lord's-Prayer, in a way void of Reverence due to Prayer. In the use of Organs in the singing of Psalms, with other unwarrantable Additions, this last being declared against in our Homilies, which Homilies with the thirty six Articles (confirmed by Act of Parliament, the other three wanting (as I have heard) that Sanction) contain the Doctrine of our Church, so that these and other Arbitrary Additions to our Discipline established by Law, seems to have been on purpose to hinder Devotion, and make the People Godless, according to *Land's* Design, in his Declaration for Sports on the Lord's-Day; for those that cannot read, or have no Books, which may be reckoned three quarters of an Episcopal Congregation, cannot have any benefit, either by reading the Psalms in the manner now used, or by singing with Organs, and all the Plea for the latter I ever heard of, is to help the People to sing in tune, to the

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pleasing

pleasing of the Ear, a very unwarrantable Excuse, God requiring all to sing with Grace in the Heart, and not a few to sing with Art, whilst the rest doth not understand what is sung. And to this may be added, the endeavouring to make it a superstitious Fashion to sit bare during Sermon, which is a new Imposition brought in by *Land*, and not practised above two or three Years, before put down by the wise long Parliament, and so continued, till the Restauration of *Charles* the Second, with whom came in all *Land's* Practices. And this of sitting bare in Sermon-time, is not known in any other Christian Church: for tho the Papists are bare in their Church out of Service-time, whom we endeavour to imitate in that circumstance, yet they are covered during Sermon, wherein we out-go them; the reason for which I leave to themselves, confessing I never understood any for the one more than for the other. And if it be objected, that our Church doth not command being bare during Sermon; yet they do it, in making it uncivil to do otherwise. And the Minister of *Finchley*, not long since, caused one for being covered whilst he was in his Sermon to be committed; who, bringing his Action against the Justice for false Imprisonment, recovered good Damages of him; which, tho sufficient to prove the Church's Usurpa-



Usurpation in this matter, they do notwithstanding go on in it, as a part of that new Popery formerly intended by *Land* in his time. The Foundation of which was laid in an increase of Ceremonies, Dominion and Popish Grandeur, with little regard to Religion, or the Power of Godliness; for which cause it lay dormant till lately, that it again sprung up with falsely assuming the Name of *the Church of England established by Law*; whereas if the Practices of most of our Churches be examined by the last Act of Uniformity, they will be found Non-conformists in their offensive Additions, to the Prejudice of the Church, hindering thereby many joyning with them, which otherwise might come in: and this the late pious Bishop of *Lincoln* used to call by way of dislike *Superconformity*, tho perhaps his Mildness could not contend against the Stream for Reformation herein, no not in his own Diocess: But from hence I will take the freedom to recommend to our Reverend Bishops, the reducing the Church in their Practice to the legal Rule, and not leave a necessity upon the Parliament to do that which is their Province, the keeping the Church conformable in their several Offices as well as in Doctrine, according to the Rule established by Law, as in the thirty six Articles, Homilies and Rubrick, which will be

more effectual in gaining Nonconformists than any other way; and till then, our Church-men ought not to pretend to the Title of Conformists, for going contrary to the establish'd Rule, is as well Nonconformity in the Episcopal Party as in the Presbyterians or Independents, and allowing an Arbitrary Power to Church-men is dangerous, not knowing wherein their Itch therein will rest. For it appears by the Writings of former Ages, that it was the trimming Conivance of some learned and pious Men, at seeming immaterial Ceremonies, that first gave the rise to Popery, the Consequence whereof, hath been the ruin in a great measure of the Christian Church, as the like Weakness hath been the destruction of common Liberty in most of the Communities in the World: for it cannot be imagined that Rational Creatures would ever by an original Contract (from whence proceeds all lawful Governments) give up their Rights to the Arbitrary Will of one Person, and his Heirs and Successors, who may be ungovernably wilful Ideots, or worse (as the late King of *Portugal*) and so instead of answering their Promotion (the Good of the Community) they may prove the ruin of it: And therefore as there is a right and a wrong in Civil as well as Ecclesiastical Obedience, defined by Holy Writ, and Human Laws,

Laws, it is every Man's Duty to study both, and being Master thereof, to abide by the Truth, without warping or trimming, and also to be aware of the fraudulent misapplying that good Temper of Moderation, which the worst of Men do commonly make use of for advancing a bad Cause, and insnaring Men of Sincerity, of whom when they have gained their Point, they will be infallibly true to their Maxim of taking all they can get, and parting with nothing they can keep, which ought to caution those of Integrity to be in their several Stations, as steady to Vertue and Truth, as others are to their false and wicked Designs.

This may perhaps be thought Severity upon the Church, but there is no general Rule without an Exception: and I believe there are many good Men to be herein excepted; tho the generality are guilty, and so bigotted, that there is no obliging them, or Quarter to be had with them by any but such as themselves, which is the unhappy Cause of our great Divisions at this time, especially in the City of *London*; and that which is worst of all, without Remedy, so long as nothing less than the Denial of Sense, Reason and Morality will be allowed by our Bigots (the Persons I only complain of) as the Conditions of Union and Conversation; and these following Instances  
may

may well be thought in some measure a Proof hereof: As, the Lieutenancy refusing a Captain, because it was objected against him that he had sixteen Years before heard that eminent Minister of the Gospel, Mr. *Jenkins* (now with God) preach a Sermon: As another was refused by one of their Captains, being his Lieutenant, for answering to the Question of what Minister he heard? That he heard such an one, a moderate Church-man; upon which he was told by the Captain, that Moderation would not serve at this time; and therefore rejected him as not for his turn: Whereupon, the Party that should have been his Ensign being by, and hearing it, moved with Indignation thereat, rejected him for his Immoderation, and denied to serve him; and all this since the Act of Toleration. But this Spirit reigns so violently in them, that they are now feared to be more ready than formerly, should they, by Sheriffs like themselves, be called upon Juries to murder and undo by false Verdicts, all that shall be known to own King *William* and Queen *Mary* to be King and Queen *de Jure* as well as *de Facto*.

And now I leave *Charles II.* whose Council and Favourites left nothing undone which might perfect the Destruction of *England*, save the selling *Tangier* to the *French*;

*French* ; which that they did not do, is one of the Wonders of this Reign. There needs no other Character of this King, than his Answer to one who desired him to have regard in his Deportment to his Memory after Death, (*viz.*) That *Let not Men speak ill of him whilst he lived, and he cared not what they should say of him when he was dead.*

How he was taken away is in the dark, but vilely suspected : His Successor may be said not to be so Godless as he, tho not less cruel ; but from what Principle is not to be determined, unless it was from being both equal as to Fear, from whence Cruelty doth generally proceed. I know all the ill things done by the eldest Brother, is ordinarily laid to the Charge of the younger ; wherein I differ from that common Opinion, believing that *Charles II.* was never imposed upon by *James II.* but the first having the Master-wit, and with it great Cunning, was willing his Brother should have the Name of any thing offensive to the People, when even it was that himself desired most to have done. And thus ends the Reign of *Charles II.* whose Practices for arriving at Arbitrary Power and Popery appear, in some degrees over and above what is before mentioned, by the Affidavits hereunto unnex'd, with Captain *Wilkinson's* Information ;

tion; which shew the Subordination of Perjury to have been used by his Ministers, for taking away the Lives of innocent Men.

*James II.* who succeeded his Brother *Charles II.* sending two Men to *Amsterdam*, when Duke of *York*, to burn their Ships in Harbour; who being taken, and at Execution confessing the Fact, it sticks much upon him in that Country, as do several other Actions in this, which for the sake of his vertuous Successors, ought to be forgot, were it not necessary to give some Hints for the Vindication of the present Government, and justifying the late King's Abdication. The burning of *London*, and the many Fires since at *St. Katharines, Southwark*, &c. belonged without doubt to the Popish Plot; and how far the then Duke of *York* was concerned therein, *Coleman's* Letters in Print, in some kind shew. As also the Narrative of the Murder of my Lord of *Effex*, is a clear Demonstration of those that were concern'd in that more than cruel and barbarous Assassination.

But to pass by all other things before his coming to the Crown, he no sooner arrived at the Throne, than he declared himself a Papist; a Name (in favour of that Religion) out of fashion ever since the Restauration; but being the Language of the Law, I think fittest to be used. At his  
first



first appearing in Council after his Brother's Death, which was as quick as could be, he promised to rule according to Law ; and yet, in two or three days after, commanded by Proclamation the Payment of Customs, before given by Parliament, which is contrary to Law ; and from that time forward went on in the same way, going publicly to Mass the first *Lord's-Day*, of which Religion the bigotted Church-men ( who will never believe any thing till it be too late ) would not before own him to be.

His Brother died on the *Friday*, and *Saturday*-seven-night after was in the Evening privately buried. Before the Funeral he knighted Sir *Peter Rich*, and soon after did the same by Sir *Roger L'Estrange*, and made Sir *George Jeffries* a Baron, none of which three, as may be observed, would King *Charles II.* so far dignify, tho he had made them his Tools to serve the worst of Turns. The now Sir *Dudley North* was knighted in his Sheriffalty, and possibly for the sake of his Family ; for Sir *Peter Rich*, his Partner, who joined with him in appointing the Jury that found my Lord *Russel* guilty, and brought him to Execution, was passed by till *James II* came to the Crown, and judged him worthy of the Honour of Knighthood.

This

This King called immediately a Parliament, and thought he had by his Influence so pack'd one, that there were not thirty Members that would not do as they were bid. They gave him great Supplies of Money, and were as severe against the Duke of *Monmouth*, as himself was by his Instruments, *Kirk* and *Jefferies*, against all in the *West*, supposed to be of his Party, contrary to the Mercy of former Times, when the Suffering of a few atoned for the rest. But when Popery came upon the Stage, this Parliament would not serve the turn, which caused the adjourning and proroguing of it from time to time, hoping in the Intervals to have moulded it to his purpose; but that not succeeding, at last he dissolved it, and then betook himself to Popish Counsels, *Petre* the Jesuit being made one of his Council, and of his Cabal, not only contrary to Law, but also to the Practice of most, if not all other Popish Princes. For tho the Jesuits make it their Design to scrue themselves so far into the Favour of Princes, as to become their Confessors, that having Opportunity of infusing wicked Principles into them, and by knowing their Secrets, may have the greater advantage of doing Mischief; yet are seldom or never admitted Members of their Councils. The wise *Venetians* banished them their Territories  
for

for their pernicious Principles, until, in requital of the Pope's assisting them in their Wars against the *Turks*, they were received into the City of *Venice*, Anno 1664. but are by the People, who hate them, very invidiously looked upon there. Nay, *Rome* is so jealous of their Immorality (as may be presumed) that they rarely admit of above two or three at most, to be at one time of the Consistory, the Pope's Council, which consists of seventy two Cardinals, when all are there, which is seldom or never.

These Men hurried this King into all Extravagances, and the highest Invasion of the Rights and Liberties of the People that had ever been attempted. The corrupting of our Mercenary Judges, to the making any thing Law he would have, for taking away the Lives of innocent Men at his Pleasure, and giving him the Dispensing Power: The setting up extrajudicially Ecclesiastical Commissioners, to turn Men out of their Freeholds at their pleasure, as at *Magdalen-College* in *Oxford*: The erecting Popish Schools, Chappels, Convents and Seminaries, all expressly against Law: The Breach of his repeated Promises, and Coronation-Oath: These, I say, were all but Trifles, compared to his Personal Endeavours of overturning our Foundations, in going from  
Town

Town to Town, to discourage those Magistrates that would not engage to send such Members to the Parliament ( he then intended ) as would repeal the Test and Penal Laws, and cajole those that would : His turning out the Mayor and best of the Aldermen of *York*, and chusing Papists in their room, had not the Commission been defective as to the filling those empty Places , so that that City was without a Mayor, till his present Majesty restored them to their Rights : As also his commissionating others, under the Name of Regulators, to reform (as they called it) other Corporations ; and all to the end of having the Test removed ( the only Obstacle ) that the Way might be open for an entire Popish Parliament, who would have been sure, in twelve Months time, to have made new Laws against all Dissenters from Popery, and have persecuted them for the same with Fire and Fagot.

As to the propounding an Equivalent, or a new *Magna Charta* for establishing Liberty of Conscience, which should be unalterable, that was so vain and idle, as could not expect Belief or Regard from any, save Men of little Wit or Prospect : for it ever will be, as it ought to be, in the power of succeeding Parliaments, to repeal the Acts of former : And therefore, tho the King might promise he would not consent, during his  
time,

time, to any Alteration, he could not promise so much for his Successors; and farther, as to himself; his Steadiness to his Engagement herein (after Breach of his Coronation-Oath, and re-iterated Promises of ruling according to Law) might well be suspected. Besides, had he really intended to make good his Promise, the Church of *Rome* (which, by his own Principles, is his Superior) would have forbid it: And he that is not ignorant of their murdering Doctrine and Practices, in case of Disobedience, durst not have disobeyed for fear of a Dose, or a Fig. So it is no less to be admired that the Papists should make such ridiculous Propositions to a knowing Protestant People, as that there should be found any among them who would give heed to the least thing of this nature coming from their implacable Enemies. There were in a few days two Proclamations of Pardon published, the latter excepting some that had been pardoned by the former, when the Parties being beyond the Sea, could not be guilty of new Transgressions, not hearing of the one before the other, the distance of Time being too little; and, as it is said, one or both was not sealed, designedly neglected by *Jefferys*, that Engine of Cruelty, and Monster of Impudence. Nay, it is said, that the King,

upon hearing of the Prince of *Orange's* Expedition for *England*, ordered the Restoration of the Fellows of *Magdalen-College* in *Oxford*; and upon the News of his Disaster at Sea, gave presently contrary Order. All which is a clear Demonstration of his Principles, and how little his Promises or Pardons are to be relied upon. For tho such Immoralities were hateful with *Pagan Rome*, where all manner of juggling by Mental Reservations, Equivocations and Unfaithfulness were odious, they are now practised by *Christian Rome*, and her Favourites.

The Arts and Tricks his Predecessors had made use of, for Oppression and Injustice (as by *Innuendo's*, &c.) to take away the Lives and Estates of honest Men, were by his Blood-thirsty Instruments illegally improved; as the Deaths of Alderman *Cornish*, and Mr. *Charles Bateman*, and the barbarous and inhuman Proceedings against Dr. *Oates*, do sufficiently evince; he having been, without Precedent, so cruelly and unmercifully used, as may charitably be concluded, was intended by that way to have murdered him, because they could not have the least Colour of Law for doing it otherwise; and that he out-liv'd the Barbarity of it, he hath reason to acknowledg a Miracle of Mercy from God, and for it walk thankfully before him all the days of his Life.

But



But besides this, this whole Reign was no less than Violence and Cruelty, as appears by excepting about one hundred and eighty Persons by Name out of his Pardon, upon the Duke of *Monmouth's* Invasion; and by Qualifications, scarce any that were not professed Papists, or as bad, were left unquestionable; especially if ever they had crossed the Seas, by that Exception of all Treasons beyond the Seas. Some of those excepted were Girls at School, from seven to ten Years of Age, for giving Ribbons to a few of the Duke's Souldiers; and they with the rest were, by Order of the King and Council, prosecuted for Rebels, by the King's Envoys Extraordinary with the States-General, upon pretence of their Articles of Peace. To that end, supposing them all to be fled into their Countries, and the Faith of the Nation being engaged for the truth of it, by the Envoys Averment thereof, the States not thinking it decent to question the Validity of the Accusation, gave Sentence of Banishment, upon pain of Death, against the whole Number (save two or three that had bought their Pardons, the Children being included) that should come into their Territories: Yet, had all that were in any of the Countries under their Dominions been brought to a Trial, it was but a few which had been with the

Duke of *Monmouth* that could have been found guilty of Rebellion, according to the Process; however, could they by this means have got them all sent home, they would there, right or wrong, have been murdered, as was Sir *Thomas Armstrong*. But the Injustice of this ought to reflect only upon the King's evil Counsel, for the Violation of the Faith of the Nation with a Foreign State (which ought to be sacred); and not upon the States for giving Credit to the Information; which, according to the Rules of Nations, ought to have been authentick; and being false, it was highly injurious to the States, of which had they known, they might well have complained: But the King, for the Immorality of it, hath received his Reward (tho the rest escape) in a just Abdication; and we the Benefit by an happy Exchange for the better. The Lord grant we may not sin away our Mercies.

After twenty eight Years industrious Endeavours to debauch the Nation by wicked, profane and atheistical Examples, which prevail more with corrupt Nature than Precepts, this King, who by adding of Papists in all Employments, having brought the Judges, Garisons, Sheriffs and Justices of the Peace throughout all the Nation to his Devotion, and got a standing Army of six and thirty thousand Horse and Foot, every way

way well accommodated, wanting nothing in the Eye of Reason, we were left without the least hopes of Recovery, the Help of Man seeming to be in vain: but then, when he said in his Heart, All was his own, and none should controul him, it pleased God in his Providence, for the Good of his People, to infatuate him, in setting up a supposititious Prince of *Wales*, to disinherit his own Children, and the Heirs to the Crown; which when nothing else in human Prospect could have done it, this opened the Eyes of all sober Protestants, to the seeing his Design of leaving us and our Posterity under Popish Idolatry and Thralldom; from whence arose an Agreement for forcing him to rule according to Law, as he was by Oath obliged; which causing him to abdicate the Government, in running away, and applying himself to the great Tyrant of the Earth for Help, gave the People the Opportunity of asserting their natural Right, in providing for their own Security, by chusing King *William* and Queen *Mary* for their rightful and legal Sovereigns; whom the Lord in Mercy bleſs with a long and prosperous Reign over us. And whilst we give due Honour to the Instruments, let us not forget ascribing the Praise and Glory due to Almighty God, as the Author and Principal of our Deliverance, and have

always in a thankful Remembrance this, and all other his saving Providences towards this poor Nation, through several Reigns and Ages.

Whilst the Church of *England* was under Persecution in the Persons of the Bishops, the President of *Magdalen-College* in *Cambridge*, and the President and Fellows of *Magdalen-College* in *Oxford*, they were full of Compassion and Brotherly-Kindness towards Dissenters, and ready to join with them for Redress of Grievances, by the help of the Prince of *Orange*, now King of *England*, &c. but were no sooner free from their Fears of being superceded by Priests and Jesuits; and many of them by the Act of Grace from being deservedly punished for their murdering Practices, and also receiving Encouragement from the Change of the Lieutenancy, and discountenancing the Royal Regiment, then headed by some who stood in need of a Party to render them considerable, that thereby they might blot out the Remembrance of former Crimes; then they forgot former Professions of Moderation, and the Afflictions of their Brethren; and to that degree, that they caballed for increasing their Burdens, and monopolizing all Employments to themselves, by continuing the Sacramental Test, tho to the fatal Detriment of the Kingdom: for  
had

had not that Bar for trusting Dissenters been in the way, *Ireland* (in the Opinion of those that best knew that Country) might have been reduced with much more Ease, to the saving most of the Blood and Treasure that hath been spent upon it; and I fear the Blood so needlessly spilt will lie at their Doors that were the Authors of it.

It were the Dissenters that saved *London-Derry*, and in that preserved *Ireland*: for tho by the Artifice of some eminent Conformists, the Honour was ascribed to Mr. *Walker*, and his Party, (for which he got a Reward he did not deserve) it appears by the Narrative of that Siege, writ by Mr. *Mackenzey*, Chaplain to a Regiment during the Siege, and writ with that Candor and Faithfulness as carries its Testimony with it, the Applause and Reward belonged to the Dissenters; for even the Answer to this Book, in behalf of Mr. *Walker*, doth no way detect, but rather gives it Credit. But Mr. *Walker* being dead, I shall forbear all farther Reflections upon him, he having been a good-natur'd Man, and what he did amiss, being from the Influence of others: He confessed there were four Nonconformists in the Town for one Conformist; and some say eight for one; but the Authority being in the Church-men, who were timorous, if not worse, you will

find by Mr. *Mackenzys* Relation, that it was the *Mobile*, who were Dissenters, that saved the Place, against the Will of the rest. And I think it may deservedly be observed, that the *London-Dissenters*, and the good-natur'd Church-men their Friends, have far out-vied in Affection to the Government, the bigotted Church-Party, by their free and liberal supplying upon all occasions their Majesties with Sums of Money, notwithstanding the fears they are in from the Change of the Lieutenancy.

Now I suppose I may be censured, as being discontented for want of Employment, as not being able to qualify my self. To which I answer, That those that know me, know I never sought any Employment; and if I had, I have a Latitude to qualify my self: So that I may truly affirm, that what I here write, proceeds purely from Affection to my Country, and the Cause of God.

The Town of *London-Derry* was at last relieved, and, as is said, might have been six Weeks sooner, with less Difficulty, and the saving of four or five thousand Lives, which in that time died of Famine. After the Relief of it, Col. *Murrey*, and thirteen Troops of Horse, who had done the greatest Service in defending of the Town, were reduced, and greatly suspected, for no other reason than because Dissenters, and free from



from Debauchery ; tho we may observe, that after Relief of that Town, little of moment was done till His Majesty's happy Arrival, save what was done by those called *Inniskilling*-Men, who, tho not all Dissenters, are much of their Judgment, Friends to them, and joined with them ; which one would think might have recommended the rest of that sort to Employment in these difficult Times. And that it did not, is unaccountable: For if those must be imploy'd that in the Opinion of By-standers, who see more than Gamesters, have forfeited their Fidelity, and the *Sacramental Test*, a Qualification for Ale-houses ( which sometimes prove Bawdy-houses ) continued as a Bar against such as have signaliz'd their Sincerity and Integrity, because called *Nonconformists*, whilst Church-men are the same, Nonconformity being nothing else than practising contrary to the Rule established by Law, whereof the Church-men are guilty in many Particulars, we cannot expect a Blessing to attend our Undertakings. And I do affirm, that none can desire to deprive their Majesties in this time of War, the use of those they call *Dissenters*, ( who having no Abdicated or Romish Superior, cannot have any other Interest than their Majesties ) save such as are either weak in their Understandings, Jacobites in their Affections,

Affections, Papists in their Religion, or ungodly Persecuters in their Natures ; from all which the Lord in Mercy deliver this Nation.

I do not aim herein at reflecting upon the Conformists in general ; for it must be confessed that there are many sober, vertuous and religious Persons of that Judgment, as *London* hath experienced, in being, contrary to what was designed by others, providentially preserved by them, as appears by the Opposition the worthy and then most deserving Lord Mayor, Sir *Thomas Pilkington*, hath met with from those that were *Hectors* for delivering up of Charters, and joining with *Jefferies*, &c. in all Arbitrary and Tyrannical Ways ; and for no other Reason that we know, than for his being, next under God and Her Majesty, by his wise Conduct in the Absence of the King, the Preserver of this City and Nation in Peace and Safety : for his Opposers were no sooner delivered by the Act of Grace from fear of Punishment for former Crimes, than they returned with the Dog to his Vomit, and with the Swine to the wallowing in the Mire of their corrupt Principles ; insomuch, that I think one may, without breach of Charity, say, That there is none, who are not guilty of great Ignorance, that were for turning out the then Lord Mayor, but  
such

such as would, if they could, turn out the King also.

But I would not be understood in this to complain of any save the Bigots of the Church, such as will not allow of any to be of their number, who have Charity for those that are not of their Communion, and have not the same Latitude in all Immorality, as they have even to the taking away the Lives and Estates of Innocent Men that are not of their minds, by false Verdicts, when it shall be in their Power: and that they may reach their own Members, that exceed them in Vertue and Sobriety, they nickname them with the Name of *Commonwealths-Men*; for since they cannot call them Drunkards, Swearers nor Whoremasters, they will call them something, to render them, as they think, odious to the People. And for these Politicks, those of this Age are obliged to *Cromwel*, who when his Successes had begot in him a Resolution to set up for himself, looking upon all such as were of steady, unbias'd, self-denying Principles, for a thorow Reformation as to Rights and Liberties, to be Enemies to his Design, he endeavoured to blast their Reputations with the Nicknames of *Levellers*, as at this time such are to the same end charged with being *Republicans*: and because two or three of them in those days had

had not so much Heat and Zeal for Religion as they had for Liberty and Property, he loaded too many of his Opposers with the odious Name of *Atheists*, as our Church-Bigots do now by all of vertuous Principles with the Character of being *against the Church*; as if all Religion were bound up in the use of their empty, illegal and imposed Ceremonies, which have ever been of great Prejudice, without any Benefit to the Church. But that *Cromwel* may not lose his due Praise, it must be confess'd that notwithstanding his unpardonable Ambition, he did ever promote Sobriety, and the Power of Godliness in others; whereas the Quarrel of our Church-Bigots to good Men, proceeds meerly from a hatred to Goodness, and fear of being by Reformation restrained in their Lusts and Immoralities: and this way they mischievously in favour of our Abdicated King, pertinaciously persevere, as knowing they shall thereby deprive their Majesties the use of their sober and useful Subjects, who cannot have any other Interest than to be faithful to them. And tho they have reason to know, that from the Experience the People have had of their Integrity and Uprightness, they are not to be cozened by injurious Names; yet from *Machiavel's* Rule, That by calumniating boldly, something will stick, they continue

tinue their Reproach, tho contrary to Sense  
 or Reason. Every English-Man that is not  
 Knave or Fool, being as much a *Common-  
 wealths-man* as those they mean, who are no  
 more for a Republick, than *Magna Charta*  
 and the Laws make them; wherein they  
 ought not to be thought Offenders; especial-  
 ly Queen *Elizabeth* having used the word  
*Commonwealth* in her Speeches, and that it  
 is the Language of the Law. Nay, such is  
 their impartial Malice, that even the best  
 of our Bishops that are not so uncharitable  
 as themselves, do not escape their Censures  
 and false Reports, as, were it convenient, an  
 Instance might be given: and their Spleen  
 hath had this effect, to hinder the most use-  
 ful Men from serving their King and Coun-  
 try, to the great Damage of both, if it  
 prove not their Destruction, in keeping up  
 the way for advancing Folly, Ignorance  
 and Knavery, by a bare restraining the  
 choice of Officers to one Party, which, if  
 continued, may hazard the Ruine of this  
 Kingdom. And for preventing the same,  
 it were to be wished, that as in a great  
 measure the Bigots of the Church have had  
 the Conduct of Affairs this three or four  
 Years, with ill Success; that the moderate  
 Men of all sides might be tried, whether  
 Affairs will prosper better in their hands:  
 By moderate Men, I mean those of both  
 Opinions,

Opinions, who are free from gross and open Scandal, who are the Persons upon whose Endeavours we may most reasonably expect a Blessing from God; for from the contrary Qualifications it is not to be hoped. And I am fully of Opinion with that good Man, who saith, " That Kingdoms and  
 " Commonwealths are not in so much danger from the Power and Policy of their  
 " Enemies without them, as they are from  
 " the unrestrained Debauchery, and crying  
 " Sins of their People that are within them;  
 " there being no such Traitors to the  
 " Strength of a Land, Underminers and  
 " Weakners thereof, as are unreformed  
 " Provocations. And therefore, till Men of Religious, or (at least) Moral Principles, who shall serve their King and Country, not from self-ends, but from a true Zeal for Civil as well as Religious Liberty, be employed, (as such are to be had) it cannot be expected that *England* should prosper: for common Swearers, Drunkards and Whoremasters, who impudently carry their Whores into the Field, and to Sea, to corrupt (by their ill Examples) the People; nor those for King *William*, as King *de facto* only, will ever do the Work. And the Bigots of the Church cannot with so much reason call those of their own Communion, Dissenters, because they have Christian Charity  
 for



for Non-conformists, as they themselves may be called of the Church of *Rome*, for declaring they had rather be *Papists* than *Presbyterians*, as many of them do; when their Difference with the *Papists* is upon Fundamentals, which concerns their Salvation; and with the *Presbyterians*, by their own Confession, but about things indifferent, which ought not to be imposed, according to that Scripture, *For it seemed good to the Holy Ghost, and to us, to lay upon you no greater Burden than these necessary things*, Acts 15.28.

In our late Civil Wars, those they then called *Puritans*, adhered to the Parliament: These were divided about Church-Government, some for *Presbytery*, and others for *Independency*. The Parliament upon their Fasting-days for imploring a Blessing, and Days of Thanksgiving for Mercies received, appointed usually Ministers of both Opinions to preach before them: Those for *Presbytery* used to press the Parliament so strenuously for their Discipline, exclusive of all others, that had that great and wise Senate hearkned to them, they had in all probability fallen into Confusion, and been destroy'd by their Enemies: of which Danger Mr. *John Goodwin*, one equal to any in Learning and Ministerial Abilities, when called to preach before them, was so far from following the Example of his Brethren in troubling

troubling them with Church-Politicks, that in his Prayer for the Parliament he had this Expression; *Lórd, hadst not thou made them wiser than their Teachers, they had been weaker than their Enemies!* And O that Posterity may not have cause to complain that it was an ignorant and selfish espousing of Church-Bigotry that ruined the three Kingdoms of *England, Scotland and Ireland*: for as that Maxim of *divide and rule*, may in times of Peace be serviceable to those designing Tyranny, it cannot be so in times of War, when not only a part, but the Assistance of the whole is necessary. And the *French King*, whilst *Spain* was a Match for him, kept close to this Rule, indulging his *Protestant Subjects* equal to those of the Church of *Rome*; the Importunity of his ambitious and merciless Church-men having no Power with him, till thinking himself above all Mankind, and fear of any, that he then persecuted and destroyed those of the *Protestant Religion*, contrary to Faith, several Edicts and Declarations for their Security in their Enjoyment of equal Privileges with the *Papists*: which Treachery and Ingratitude towards those that had kept the Crown upon his Head, may be a Caution to all Sorts and Degrees to take heed how they trust him, or any that have Dependance upon him; yet I am strong in Faith, that  
his

his perfidious Dealings will in the end prove his Destruction.

And farther, to enforce this Argument, (which I know will be little regarded by Church-Bigots and Formalists) it is to be observed, that it was, until the King's Arrival in *Ireland*, those of Religious Principles there, as also in *Scotland* and *Piedmont*, that have done any thing of moment, [and it is not without strong suspicion also that those two excellent Gentlemen, Lieut. Col. *Cleland*, and Major *Henderson*] were deserted, who to save the Life of their Country lost their own; and that the relieving of *London-Derry* in *Ireland* was delayed, both in design to reduce those over-sober Men, as of too vertuous Examples for those Times. And as to *Savoy*, that Duke, whose Family hath from all Antiquity been great Persecutors, is now come totally off from that Hellish and Devilish Principle, in usurping the Prerogative of God, who only hath Dominion over the Conscience, and is willing to receive the Assistance of his Reformed Subjects without debarring them by a *Sacramental Test*, the benefit of which he hath already sufficiently experienced. And to this may be added the Example of *Spain*, as a warning to all of undepraved Sense, to avoid Persecution upon account of Religion: for that Country when under Paganism,

nism, Mahometanism, with a mixture of Judaism, was populous, rich and flourishing, beyond all or most Countries, is now under Christianity, by Persecution, become dispeopled, beggarly, and of little account, compared to others formerly of no Consideration to them. And let our Church-Bigots, in opposition to Religion and Sobriety, improve to their uttermost their Power and Interest for doing the Work upon the Wheel by such as themselves, they will still find, as they in *Scotland, Ireland* and *Piedmont* hitherto have done, that God will distinguish the Serviceableness of sober Men from that of his Enemies, Men of debauched Lives, evil Conversations, and immoral Principles; and nothing but Reformation, and their Majesties use of all their Subjects, upon whose Faithfulness they may rely, can recover our ancient Glory, and make us again a Terror to our Enemies. And it may be foretold, that our Potent and Tyrannical Neighbour, who by Liberty in Religion first raised himself to that Height he is now arrived at, shall by his late contrary Actings, lose his Grandure, have all his Honour laid in the Dust, and brought as low as he is now great.

And to sum up all concerning Church-Bigots, who place Religion in Formalities and Ceremonies, with Persecution of all of  
contrary

contrary Opinions to them ; we may observe that this sort of Men ( without attaining their Ends ) have in all Ages and Nations been the Pest of Mankind, occasioning great Bloodshed and Cruelty in all Countries, but especially in Christendom : for the preventing of which for the future in this Kingdom, it is to be wished that our Ecclesiasticks, whose Talents for Civil Government is very seldom commendable, were by Law confin'd to their proper Province, the Interpretation of the Scripture as to Practicall Divinity, and leave the Construction of our Civil Law to them to whom it belongs in the Intervals of Parliaments, (*viz.*) the Judges of the Land, who are sworn to the discharge of their Duty therein ; whereas bigotted Church-men, being loose and at liberty, are very partial in their Glosses, perverting the meaning thereof to their separate Interest, tho tending to the Prejudice of the Nation.

I think no sober Person but will, after perusal hereof, own our two last Reigns to have been cruel, unjust, and oppressive to the highest degree ; and that such Guilt could not be contracted by our Kings, without Instruments imploy'd by them, who by Law are answerable for Miscarriages in Government. And as Oppression is a crying Sin, that pulls down God's Judgments



upon a People, if not reformed and reformed ; so there is a Duty incumbent upon us, to answer the Rebukes we have lately met with from God in our Affairs, by a speedy and thorow Reformation, not deferring it till times of Peace ; the want of Reformation being generally the occasion of War. And God seems to call for it by the little use he hath made of our Immoralists, either at Sea or Land, other than as a Scourge for our Sins. His Majesty hath a great Reputation to be a professed Enemy to Swearing, Drinking, Cheating, &c. And if those, whose Calling makes it their Duty to promote Reformation, be the Obstructors of it, Flattery, which never proceeds from a sincere Heart, will not defend them against the Almighty ; to whom I leave them, with putting them in mind, that an Instance might be given of a late Army commanded by old experienced Officers, never accused of want of Bravery ; yet the Majority being of lewd Principles as to Religion, and of loose Discipline as to Sobriety, never prospered other than by retail, enough only to keep them alive : so that it was to a Miracle, beyond the Eye of Reason, that the low and desperate Condition they and their Superiours were reduced to, did not cause them to lay down the Cudgels, separate and run away ; for nothing but an invisible Power



Power could have spirited them to stand out against the mighty External Force of their Enemies; insomuch that their Steadiness cannot be ascribed to any thing less than an over-ruling Hand of Providence, the Lord not suffering them for his own Name-sake to fall to the Ground, tho he exercised them with great Disappointments and cross Providences, as a means to bring them to a sight of their Sins, and a necessity of Reformation, which was at first opposed by many as unseasonable. But at last setting aside that hackny Excuse, ordinarily made use of by ill Men for keeping off that which is against their Designs, it was by those guided by Vertue and Integrity, at last undertaken in a time when little hopes of recovering a lost Cause was left; but the Change a Reformation made, was so great in an Army, which before was a Nursery of Vice and Debauchery, that it became a School of Vertue and Sobriety; and tho composed in a great part of such young, raw, new-bred Military Men, that they were at their beginning the Scorn and Derision of all veteran Souldiers; yet God, as pleased with Reformation, did so remarkably bless them with Success, that after they took the Field under that excellent Commander, *Sir Thomas Fairfax* in 1645, they never received the least De-

feat, but went on even to a Miracle, conquering, till they totally reduc'd their Enemies in less than two Years, notwithstanding they had for Adversaries an Army flesh'd with Victory, commanded by Officers as much celebrated for Valour and Military Art as that Age afforded. And the truth of this great and virtuous Effect of Reformation is known to all observing Men that liv'd in those days, and may be found by those born since, in the uncontradicted History of that War, called the *History of Sir Thomas Fairfax*, writ by Mr. *Sprig*; as also will in *Rushworth's Collections*, when his last Volume comes out, to the just Reproof, if not Conviction of the Enemies to Reformation. And to illustrate this, I could name a Colonel yet living, who in this War had 36 in his single Troop, that each of them could pray without a Book, and after that discourse upon a Text of Scripture to the Edification of his Hearers, the rest of the Troop being free from any known Vice, as Swearing, Whoring, Excess in Drinking, &c. for when any were detected of such Crimes, they were presently cashier'd. This I presume will be laugh'd at by our profane Bigots, but will not be so by any fearing God: for *Moses*, when complained unto of such, wished that all God's People were Prophets.

But

But the like hereunto is not to be expected, till it shall please God to inspirit the Nation for a general Reformation of Manners, beginning first with the Universities, which is said to stand in need of a strong Purge; because from thence most of our Gentry imbibe their Principles, and where it is dreadful (if true as some report) that they are the less strictly look'd to, to prevent in them Inclinations to *Presbytery*; telling them it is better to be *Papists* than *Presbyterians*, though the first differ in Doctrine which concerns their Salvation, and the other only in unscriptural, as well as (many of them) illegal Ceremonies.

Secondly, In the *Ecclesiastical Visitations*, and Care in the admitting none into the Ministry but upon signal Testimony of Sobriety and Ministerial Abilities, not suffering the Fees for Institution and Induction to have any Influence therein; that by the Exemplary Lives and Conversations of the Ministers of the Gospel, the People may be as well instructed as from their Pulpits; Example very often prevailing more with corrupt Nature than Precept, especially (as is the Saying of a good Man) that Military Strength will not make a Nation so dreadful to an Enemy, as an able Godly Ministry will do.

I remember I heard many Years ago (in the time of Bishop *Laud's* Persecution, before our late Civil Wars) famous Dr. *Stan- ton* in a Sermon, reproving the then reigning Profaneness, as portending a Judgment impending, (wherein he was a Prophet) *Tell that Party, (I mean the bigotted Formalists) that tho they may please themselves in scoffing at serious Religion, and the Gift of Prayer, they had better have all the Bears in the Bear-garden against them, than the Prayers of God's People.* This, I suppose, may be censured by our profane Party as an homely Expression; but tho I may be short in rendring his Words as to the Energy of them, the Learning, Piety and Elegancy of this great Doctor, do so eminently appear in his Works, and must still be remembered in the Universities, that none can think that any thing either ill expressed or otherwise could fall from him.

Besides, there is no way like this of Reformation for bringing the Non-conformists to the publick Churches, and prevent the stumbling any more in the Night upon Ecclesiasticks in their Habits lying drunk in the Streets, and meet them staggering from one side to the other, as we sometimes do, and often hear of their Debauchery, and giving the bad Example of drinking Healths, which may be reckoned so much the occasion

sion of Drunkenness ; from whence many times proceed Quarrels, Murders and Adulteries, that it's a hundred to one of every Person that is seen drunk in the Streets, that he comes from drinking of Healths, which the Apostle consequently forbids in exhorting to *avoid all occasions of Evil.*

I would not be understood by any thing here said, to reflect upon our Ecclesiasticks in general ; for I confess there are of them very pious, moderate and worthy Persons, deserving all Reverence and Respect, but am sorry they are disparaged by too many not worthy of their Function.

Thirdly, In taking Care of not dispensing Commissions of the Peace to such as are themselves notoriously guilty of the Crimes they ought to punish in others, as Swearing, Drinking, Sabbath-breaking, &c. the reforming of which we may now have hopes of, from the Vertue of our new *Lord Keeper.* And when it shall please God to put it into the Hearts of those in Authority to reform these three Fountains, from whence proceeds the Profaneness, Blasphemy, and Atheism that over-spreads the Land, we may hope for the fore-mentioned Blessings, but till then despair of them ; especially, if from the sinister Designs of ill Men, Debauchery be countenanced and incouraged, by promoting and imploying such as are  
notori-

notoriously known to be the worst of Men, and guilty in Life and Conversation of the greatest Immoralities: for in such case we cannot expect any Benefit by their Majesties pious Proclamations for Reformation of Manners, Example (as is before-mentioned) prevailing more with corrupt Nature than Precept.

The way to appease God's Wrath, is to enquire after Men of debauched Lives, and avoid them; after the Authors and Abettors of our former Grievances; cause Restitution to be made to Sufferers, by those that did the Wrong; and to disable for the future all Offenders therein from bearing any Office either in Church or State, in whom doth not appear a true Change in Practice, and espousing honest Principles, to the end they may have no more opportunity for acting their Mischiefs over again. *For the Wicked walk on every side, when the vilest Men are exalted.* Psal. 12. 8.

The Lord seems to have done his part in punishing the Principal, leaving the Instruments to us; for it may be reasonably thought, that had it not been for evil Counsellors, our Kings could not alone have projected or endeavoured the Ruin of our Nation by introducing *Popery* and *Slavery*, as was without contradiction intended.



By what goes before, together with what may be farther observed, it will appear, that the Preservation of our Rights and Liberties hath to a Miracle been solely from the Providence of God, *viz.*

1. That the late King *James* in favour of Popery, should set up a supposititious Prince of *Wales*, to disinherit his own Children, and all the Heirs of the Crown; whereby he alienated the Hearts of the People, when nothing less could have done it, was a great Providence.

2. The King (when Prince of *Orange*) his Disaster at Sea upon his first setting sail, causing the late King *James's* recalling his Order for restoring the Fellows of *Magdalen-College* in *Oxford*, was a Providence, in that he thereby convinced the People, that there was no relying upon his Promises, which before they were ready to do.

3. That when the Prince was designed for the North, he should change his Course for the West, where the Wind and Weather was miraculously serviceable to him, was a saving Providence.

4. That the late King *James's* Naval Fleet, which might with ease have destroyed the Fly-Boats which transported the Prince's Army, and did not do it, was a signal Providence.

5. That

5. That the late King *James* deserted his Army at *Salisbury*, when half of it was more than sufficient to have fought the Prince, was a Providence not to be forgot.

6. That the late King *James* abdicated the Government, when otherwise we must have been all in Blood, some of the chief of the City shewing so much Fondness of him, that with speed they, with Tears for Joy, congratulated his Return after his first leaving of the Town, was a Mercy.

7. That *London-Derry*, a little insignificant Place, without regular Fortifications, should with so much Misery and Hardship defend themselves; and in that preserve *Ireland* against the late King, who was said to have 60000 Men in Arms, and to lose 8000 before it; and this done by the *Mobile*, headed by some honest Officers against the good Will of those in Authority; was a Providence which in after-Ages will hardly be believed.

8. That the *French* had surprized us whilst at Anchor, had not the Wind providentially turned to our Preservation, was a Mercy that ought not to be forgot.

9. That the *French* should not understand the Advantage *Torrington* gave them at Sea, in retreating before them; and that they should neglect the opportunity of intercepting at the Mouth of the Channel our several Fleets of Merchants

Merchants Ships, then expected from several Parts of the World, and no care taken by us for their Preservation; was an unexpressible Providence. For if those Fleets had miscarried, the trading Party of the Nation had in a great measure been ruined: So that upon the whole, we may say, we have been preserved by the Providence of God, notwithstanding our great Negligence. But this miraculous Deliverance gives us no Warrant to rely upon Miracles for our Preservation, but is a Caution to us for the future, to be more careful in the choice of the Officers we intrust.

To the foregoing nine, may be added as a tenth Providence, and crowning Mercy, the Lord's preserving us against the last Year's intended Invasion of the *French*, headed by our Abdicated King, at a time when all was so prepared, that that Party amongst us hath not yet lost their Confidence: and then when neither the Wisdom or Hand of Man was for our Preservation, God appeared in the Mount, delivering us by his immediate Power, in commanding the Wind and Weather to deliver us out of the Jaws of Death; a Mercy never to be forgotten, but with Humility to be always had most particularly in thankful Remembrance; Thankfulness being a Grace that God is much pleased with. And from these wonder-

wonderful Workings of the Lord for us, we may gather great hopes, that however he may exercise us with Straits and Difficulties, he will not give us up into the Hands of those whose Mercies are Cruelties.

And as these ten saving Providences may serve to strengthen our Faith, in believing that our good God hath given them us as so many Assurances of his Care of us, and that he will not for his own Name-sake deliver us into the Hands of his and our Enemies: so likewise, as with reason our Ships have been always called the Walls of our Nation, and reckoned our indispensable Interest never to suffer any to vie with us in Naval Strength; so we ought to look upon the cross Providences we have met with in neglecting four Opportunities of destroying the *French* at Sea, to be from God for our Sins, as a means to bring us to a fight of them, and Humiliation for them, and a Reformation of that Debauchery, Profaneness and Atheism, which over-spreads the Nation, as the *Achans* which trouble our *Israel*.

As first, The neglect of the Opportunity in 1690, of destroying the *Toulon-Fleet* in the *Straits*.

2. The neglect of the Opportunity in the same Year of destroying the main Fleet of the *French* in our Channel, when we, like degene-

degenerate English-men, fled before them, tho we had then so far the advantage, that tho they did a little out-number us, we out-tunn'd them, out-gunn'd them, and out-mann'd them, besides being upon our own Coast.

3. In not prosecuting that glorious Victory obtained by Admiral *Russel*, 1692; who because he had not Satisfaction for the Obstruction he met with therein, laid down (as is said) his Command, as not thinking it safe to trust himself any more in the Hands of those that then had the Direction.

4. In the neglect of the Opportunity in 1693, of destroying the *French Fleet* at Sea, had our Fleet fought them, as they might have done. And having now lost these Opportunities, whether we shall ever have the like again, the Lord only knows, but 'tis to be fear'd never shall in our days.

And to press further a Care in the Choice of our Officers of Trust. Our Church-Bigots, or pretended Statists, cannot deny that *London-Derry* saved *Ireland*; the same sort of People *Scotland*; and that Primitive Christianity in the Persons of the *Waldenses* hath hitherto preserv'd the Duke of *Savoy*: a Truth writ so visibly by the Finger of God, as may be said to be done by an extraordinary Providence, to convince this unbelieving Age of their sottish Error in under-

undervaluing Sobriety, notwithstanding his signaling the Undertakings of such, and blasting those of his Enemies, Swearers, Drunkards, &c. It would have pleased me better to have had this Observation made by some other, but rather than God should not have the Honour and Glory of his Grace and Goodness to those that love and fear him, I have thought it my Duty to remember our great Deliverances with Thankfulness to his Praise.

Courtiers and Favourites have always endeavoured by themselves and Friends to excuse their Miscarriages, by making the Complaints against them to proceed only from Envy and not Justice: but we do not find Parliaments mistaken formerly in their Impeachments against evil Counsellors, but that they have ever been rather too backward than too forward therein. And indeed, considering the Constitution of the Parliament, and their Method of Proceedings, they may be reckoned as infallible in Matter of Fact, as Mankind is capable of; for no Criminals but may be supposed to have some particular Friend in that numerous Assembly to make Objections on their behalf, and nothing of this kind passing the House without a serious and long Debate, and coming at last to a Decision by Majority of Votes, they can hardly err in Matters of Fact.



Fact. And we find the Counsellors of good Queen *Elizabeth* to have been free from all Complaints in Parliament; and I think it may be relied upon, that the Commons will never complain of any who seek not themselves, (as her Counsellors did not) but the Good and true Interest of King and Country: but such as Sovereigns were, such will their Counsellors be; *Saul's* were wicked, and *David's* vertuous: for bad Kings will make choice of such as themselves; and none but those of depraved Principles will court their Service.

As the way for Kings to gain Love and Honour, and be in Safety, is to make the Law their Rule, and not, as the two last Kings, without Regard to their Coronation-Oath, setting all Law aside, and acting Arbitrarily, as in their pricking of Sheriffs for the Counties, not out of those presented to them, as the Law directs, but taking them at large, as they please, or corrupt Interest directs. For to govern well, is a Security beyond Arms, Oaths, or all the Tricks of ill Men and Favourites; so it is the Interest of Favourites, tho they seldom believe it, to make publick Interest equal (if not superior) to their own private; for we do not find the Families raised formerly by evil Counsel given to their Princes, to have been of long continuance.

Our Divisions at present are deplorable, and far be it from me to desire the widening of them; but they may be said to arise from Selfishness in the Clergy, and some Criminals, who joined with them, to make a Party for their own particular Interest and Preservation, against the true Interest and Sense of vertuous and honest Men: so that in this distracted Condition we are divided into those for the Present King, and those for the Abdicated King; these latter being irreconcilable to all that are not of their Opinion, and the former subdivided into those that are professedly for King *William* as King *de Jure*, and those for him only as King *de Facto*; whereby the latter making the King no better than an Usurper, must themselves be little less than *Jacobites*, whose Actings give us cause to have sad Thoughts of Heart, in seeing some of the late Kings Proceedings put in Practice with Improvement.

I do not remember any in former Reigns taken up and imprisoned, without pretended Proof of some Crime against them, or at least of pretended great Suspicion; but of late we had Persons freest from Suspicion first seized, and then their Studies and Writings searched, to get matter to justify the Seizure; which leaves all Men unsafe, as well in reference to their Estates (from the danger

danger their Writings are thereby in ) as in reference to their Liberty. And herein they shewed their Spleen against such as are for the present King, as King *de Jure*; for of any other Crime, one lately imprisoned could not be suspected, having expressed himself sufficiently in Print against a Commonwealth, a Notion out of hatred to Liberty (our natural Right) lately started, to render all those obnoxious that are for common Freedom. Our ancient Government according to Law, knowing that in a corrupt and factious Age, the honestest things may be blasted by misapplying of Names, as in calling Evil Good, and Good Evil, Disloyalty Loyalty, and Loyalty Disloyalty, &c. And this whilst *de Façio*-Men can hardly (in some Mens Opinion) offend in any thing they do or say. But his Majesty having had several miraculous Deliverances, in *Ireland*, at Sea, and lately in *Flanders*, we hope that Men sincerely honest, real and faithful to him without Reserve, in reference to any Pretender, will be as well in Security, as Enemies, or those that are no farther for his Interest, than may render them meritorious, should the Abdicated King return, from which good Lord deliver us, and from all such whose Design is to justify the two last Reigns, by disowning any Fault in them (save the endeavour

deavour of introducing Popery, of which they make the King solely guilty ) that by his Instruments and such like, they may the more plausibly play the same Game over again, if not by corrupt Judges, against which we are secured during the Lives of those now in place, yet they may by suborned Witnesses, depraved Advocates, and pack'd Juries endeavour a *sham Protestant Plot*, as they have formerly done, for destroying all that shall stand in the way of returning us to our late Egyptian Bondage, of which they are very fond.

As there is no Perfection in this World, so there is nothing good, but as it is compared with worse. The Reign of good Queen *Elizabeth*, who was a true Lover of her People and Country, may perhaps be liable to some Exceptions ; but being a Reign of glorious Actions, of impartial Justice, not murdering and otherwise undoing innocent Men by corrupt Juries, Judges and suborned Witnesses, and so free from Tricks for plundering the Subjects Purfes to spend viciously and profusely to make a Party for Arbitrary Government, that when Money hath been given her for certain Occasions, the Cause being taken away, she returned the Money to her Subjects : this Reign, I say, compared to the four succeeding Reigns, chargeable with all that

that is contrary to these Excellencies, may comparatively be reckoned perfect.

The Counsellors and Favourites of this great Queen may have had some Errors in Politicks, tho unknown to me; yet having made the end of all their Counsels, the Honour, Prosperity, Safety and joint Interest of the Queen and Country without separating them; I say, those Counsellors and Favourites compared with those of the four last Reigns, whose Counsels and Actions have been diametrically opposite to theirs, may comparatively be said to have been unblamable.

Tho the Church in that Queen's Time never wanted some of persecuting Spirits, yet those being over-ballanced by the Piety and Zeal of some of the then Guides of the Church, not encouraging the Profanation of the Lord's-Day, nor discouraging Preaching twice upon that Day, nor yet putting down Weekly or Monthly Lectures. Tho that Reign may be said not to have been totally free from profligate and ill People; the Generality was sober and virtuous, compared to the succeeding Reigns, especially the two last, so over-run with Debauchery and all manner of Profaneness. But upon the whole, we have been an unhappy People ever since the Days of that never-to-be-forgotten good Queen, if some

Years were not to be excepted, the Designs of our four last ill Reigns have been so diametrically opposite to the Honour and Interest of the Nation, as the History thereof must render them and their Counsels odious to Posterity.

When the House of *Austria* was rampant for the Universal Monarchy, bidding fair for it, our Court join'd with them in being of the Spanish Faction, as they that remember those Times must confess : for tho the Example and Method left us for the Assistance of the united *Netherlands*, to which the People were generally affected, could not be totally laid aside, our Help, contrary to our Interest, became then faint and heartless.

After the Crown of *Spain* ( the chief Power of the *Austrian* Family ) was by the long weak Reign of *Philip* the IVth brought low, and the dangerous Design of that mighty House was suppressed, then *Cromwel*, from want of Experience in Foreign Affairs, cast the Ballance betwixt *Spain* and *France* on the *French* side ; yet not maliciously, but presuming that the then Greatness of our Nation, would upon all occasions have been able to curb and check the growing Greatness of our mightiest Neighbours, as had we remained under a good Administration we had certainly been : but as ill Govern-  
ment,



ment, with Fraud and Cozenage in all Officers, has brought the Crown of *Spain* under, so the same hath been the unhappy Lot of our Nation; these two Instances being a full Demonstration, that all Countries will be prosperous or miserable according as their Government is good or bad.

*Charles* the Second came no sooner to the Crown than he sold *Dunkirk* to the *French*; and as a farther step to advance them, ruin'd the Protestant Interest, and in that the Interest of his own Native Country; he causelessly, as well as ungratefully, quarrell'd with the *United Netherlands*; and when thro' Providence he came badly off in that Undertaking, he most mischievously espoused the *French* Interest against that of his own Kingdoms, studying all the ways imaginable the greatning of them, and lessening of us: and the same Design being followed by his Successor, we were brought to that desperate Condition our present King found us in, and restored us to what we now are.

And now being freed from the Grievances of the four last Reigns, it might be expected that all should hate the remembrance of those Times, and never more hanker after the like; the doing of which cannot proceed from any thing less than in some a depraved, slavish Nature, delighting

in the Barbarity of the Eastern Countries : In some well-meaning honest Men, from Ignorance, not understanding their true Interest ; in others, from a hatred to common Freedom, being content to be tyrannized over by their Superiors, so they may but do the same over their Inferiors : And in others, who, tho they understand the true Interest of the Nation, yet from preferring an opportunity of cozening, cheating and advancing themselves to Honours and Dignities to all other Considerations whatever. And from hence, together with Selfishness and want of Integrity in some professing Honesty, thereby deceiving the weak and credulous, whilst they pursue their own Interest without regard to the Publick, proceeds the Misery of Mankind.

I take no pleasure in remembring the Vices and Enormities of our Country, but am greatly troubled to hear of the horrid Debauchery that is amongst us ; and to observe, how this Nation is degenerated from a Land formerly famous for Piety, to that of all manner of Profaneness, against which I have thought it my Duty thus to bear my Testimony.

If what hath been already observed of the Lord's distinguishing the Serviceableness of sober Men from that of Swearers, Drunkards, &c. be not enough to convince  
our

our bigotted Church-men of their Folly, in not being satisfied without having the weightiest Affairs intrusted with such, if they would but call to mind that the Hand of God was so remarkably against us whilst such were imployed, who carried Whores with them both to Sea and Land, that we never prospered in either Station, and that since they have been removed, God hath so remarkably blessed us both at Sea and in *Ireland* ever since, when the Help of Man seemed to be in vain ; as if he would thereby tell his Enemies, that tho they would not see, he would make them see, and be ashamed of their Envy and Malice against all Sobriety ; they cannot still remain pertinacious in their Opinions, without being, as may be charitably thought, under a judicial Blindness : not but that I think it is to be lamented, that too many, not deserving very good Characters, are still made use of ; but as the greater in Authority the Persons of such are, the more mischievous is their vicious Example, so the Lord is thereby the more provoked to retard our Deliverance ; and tho for his own Name-sake, he will not suffer his Cause totally to fall, yet the less our Reformation is, the slower will be his Mercies to us, as a means to bring at last those that fear him, to a sight of their Sins, and a Humiliation for them.

*An*

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*An Introduction to the Affidavits and Informations following.*

**I**F any Doubt be made ( notwithstanding what is before mentioned ) of the horrid Iniquity and Miscarriage of the two last Reigns, whoever will but seriously read and consider the following *Affidavits*, with the *Informations*, cannot but be convinced that the like Practices for murdering by Perjury and form of Law, hath not before been known in *England*, or any other Christian Country ; where Judges, Juries, Witnesses, and Counsel, all strove who should most signalize their Services for the King, by wrestling of Law, for taking away the Lives of innocent Persons ; the Memory of which is to be wished may, to their perpetual Infamy, and as a warning to others, never be forgotten.

*The*

*The Information of Tho. Samson, Gent.  
taken upon Oath before Sir Thomas  
Alleyn, Kt. and Bar. one of his Ma-  
jesty's Justices of the Peace for the  
City of London, this 24th Day of  
November, 1681, at Seven of the  
Clock in the Morning.*

*Who saith,*

**T**Hat *John Mac-Namarra* told this Deponent, That *Edward Ivy* and *Bryan Haynes* agreed together in *April* last, to swear Treason against the Earl of *Shaftsbury*; and the Bill being found against the said Earl, that they, with *John Smith* and *Turberfield*, did intend to swear Treason against *Sir Patient Ward*, *Sir Robert Clayton*, *Sir Thomas Player*, *Sheriff Bethel*, *Col. Mildmay*, and all others as should come in as Witnesses against their Designs, or in the behalf of the above-said Gentlemen. The Treason which they designed to swear against the said Earl, was, "That the Earl  
" should say, that our King deserved to  
" be dethroned more than *Richard II.*  
" and that the said Earl would dethrone  
" the King, and make *England* a Common-  
" wealth.

*This*

This Deponent further saith, That the said *Mac-Namarra* told this Deponent the 28th of *July* last, that *Edward Ivy* had often Conference with Mrs. *Cellier*, and the Popish Priests in *Newgate*, and had received Money to sham the Popish Plot, and to swear to a Protestant one.

This Deponent further saith, That the said *Mac-Namarra*, two days before he went to *Oxford* to *Colledge's* Trial, told this Deponent, that he knew the Design against the Protestants, and that he would say something against them to please Justice *Walcop*, to get some Money: But he said, *God damn him* if he knew of any Treason by any Protestants, or knew of any Plot but the Popish Plot, or if he would ever swear to any such thing: And at the said *Mac-Namarra's* Return from *Oxford*, he swore the same to this Deponent in the presence of others.

This Deponent further saith, That the said *Mac-Namarra* told this Deponent, that he, the said *Mac-Namarra*, had been often with the Earl of *Shaftsbury*, with *Haynes* and *Ivy*; but this Deponent telling him that the said Earl never discoursed any alone, the said *Mac-Namarra* told this Deponent, that the occasion of their speaking with him was, for that they discovered to him, the said Earl, some Persons that intended



tended to murder him ; *Mac-Namarra* saying, that himself and *Ivy* took Distaste for that the Earl would not discourse them alone ; in-as-much as *Ivy* therefore contrived to swear High-Treason against the said Earl.

This Deponent farther saith, That Mr. *Turberfield* told this Deponent, at the Sign of the *Cock* by the *Pall-Mall*, two or three days before *Colledge's* Trial, of this Design against Protestants ; but, with solemn Protestations, swore that he knew nothing of any Treasons against the Earl of *Shaftsbury*, the Lord *Howard*, or any Protestants ; only of *Colledge's* idle words, and of *Rowse's* keeping the Charity of the City from the Evidences.

This Deponent farther saith, That on the 23<sup>d</sup> of September last, *John Smith*, *Stephen Dugdale* and *Turberfield* sent for the Deponent to the Three-Tun Tavern in *Hungerford-Market*, and there drinking, the said *Smith* began the Duke of *York's* Health : He swore, *God damn him*, he drank his Health because he was a Papist, and therefore he loved him.

This Deponent farther saith, That the Money which was gathered in the City for the Maintenance of the Evidence, was gathered on their Petition to the Common-Hall, and by the Evidences special Instance

to the Lord *Shaftsbury*, and others, to interceed for them to the City, it being directed to the City by the House of Commons, to take care of them until the Parliament sate again, and procured a Maintenance for them.

This Deponent farther saith, That the Answer which *John Mac-Namarra* made on Oath to the Grand-Jury at *Rowse's* Trial, viz. being questioned how he was maintained? answered, that he then rented 100 l. *per Annum* in *Ireland*, was false.

And *Edward Ivy* at the same time saying on his Oath, that he came not over to *England* to discover the Popish Plot, was also false; for that he had 20 l. allowed him by the Lord Lieutenant of *Ireland* for the same. And whereas the said *Ivy* then swore, That what Information he made, touching the Popish Plot, was directed to him by the Earl of *Shaftsbury*, and that a Reward for the swearing of it was promised by *Rowse*, was also false; for that this Deponent saw the Information in the said *Ivy's* Hands before he knew, as he said, the said Earl, or *Rowse*, and the day after he came to Town.

This Deponent farther saith, That himself, with others, have heard *Dennis Mac-Namarra* say, that he would swear any thing that his Brother *John* would have him to swear.

And

And this Deponent farther saith, That the Earl of *Shaftsbury* advised this Deponent, *Mac-Namarra* and *Ivy*, not to go to *Oxford*, until the Parliament sent for them to give their Evidence touching the Popish Plot ; and, on our Request, the said Earl promised that he would move for Money to bear our Charges thither, and to supply our great Necessities.

This Deponent farther saith, That Justice *Walcop* often solicited him, with Promises of Reward, to be an Evidence against the Earl of *Shaftsbury*, and others of the City ; and that *John Mac-Namarra* told this Deponent, that the said Justice *Walcop* did the same with him.

This Deponent farther saith, That he hath not, to his Knowledg, received any Money of the City, or borrowed any to the value of five Pounds, since the Parliament at *Oxford*, or had any Reward for making this Affidavit ; but hath done it to satisfy his Conscience, and to prevent any that should swear falsely against himself, or others : And farther saith, that he is no Petitioner to the City. To all which this Deponent swears particularly, the precise Days only excepted.

*Tho. Samson.*

*The*

*The Information of William Shewen,  
jun. of the Parish of St. Mary Mag-  
dalen Bermondsey, in the County of  
Surrey, aged Twenty Years, or there-  
abouts, as followeth.*

**T**His Informant maketh Oath, That on  
*Thursday*, the 9<sup>th</sup> Day of this Instant  
Month of *August*, 1681, he being acciden-  
tally in the Company of Mr. *John Mac-*  
*Namarra*, Mr. *Peacock* (whom they called  
Alderman of *Durham*) and Mrs. *Teresia*  
*Peacock* his Daughter, (who was *Fitz-Har-*  
*ris's* Maid) Mr. *Everard*, Mr. *Moubrey*, and  
others, at *Godfrey's* Musick-house, in *Lamb's-*  
*Conduit-Fields*, in the County of *Middlesex*;  
and they occasionally falling into Discourse  
concerning Mr. *Mac-Namarra's* marrying  
Mrs. *Peacock*, the aforesaid *Mac-Namarra*  
told this Informant, that his Reason for  
marrying her was, that he might get a new  
Race of Evidences against the old should  
fail.

And this Informant farther saith, That  
the aforesaid Persons then discoursing to-  
gether concerning Mrs. *Peacock's* Marriage-  
Portion, Mr. *Peacock*, Father to the said *Te-*  
*resia Peacock*, clapping her on the Back, said,  
*Girl, I am the chiefest Evidence, and thou the*  
*second;*

*second; and there will be 100 l. apiece for us to swear home at Oxford (having been discoursing before concerning Colledge) and thou shalt have them both, and I will settle 100 l. a Year more on thee. To which Mr. Mac-Namarra, Mr. Roger Godfrey, and Mr. William Godfrey (upon this Informant's asking them, Mr. Peacock was a Man of an Estate) answered, that he rather stay'd in Town to get part of his Daughter's Money, than to give her any thing.*

*And this Informant farther saith, That Mr. Turberfield and Mr. Mac-Namarra then told this Informant, that they had Pensions, as well as Oates, and said, that was no sign of small Respect to their Evidence; and that they received them at Sir Lioline Jenkins's House. And this Informant farther saith, that he had several times seen them go into the Secretary's House, and once saw Haynes coming thence. And farther this Informant saith, That on the 10th day of this Instant August, the said Mac-Namarra coming to this Informant's Lodgings at the Golden Posts at Charing-Cross, this Informant enquired of Mac-Namarra wherefore he went so often to Sir Lioline Jenkins's House? Upon which, Mac-Namarra put his Hand to his Pocket, and shaked his Money, making no other Answer.*

And this Informant farther saith, That afterwards, viz. on *Thursday* the 11th of *August*, he being in the Company of Mr. *Everard*, *Turberfield*, *John Mac-Namarra*, *John Smith*, Mr. *Haynes*, and Captain *Barry*, at the House of the aforesaid *Roger Godfrey*, at the *Golden Posts* at *Charing-Cross*; the said Persons discoursing concerning their going for *Oxford*, about *Colledge's Trial*, this Informant asking them what they thought of *Colledge*, they generally answered, that they questioned not but they should get him hanged.

And this Informant farther saith, That then and there the Company falling into Discourse of *Slingsby Bethel Esq*; one of the present Sheriffs of the City of *London*, Mr. *Mac-Namarra* and Mr. *Turberfield* proffered to lay Wagers, Ten to One, that Sheriff *Bethel* should be hanged before *Christmas* next: But, said *Turberfield*, we have little against him as yet. To which *Mac-Namarra* replid, *What of all that? We have time enough either to get, or make more.* The like Wager, at the same time, they proffered to lay concerning Mr. *Wilmore*, the Fore-Man of the late Grand-Jury, and several others of that Jury, whose Names they then mentioned, but their Names this Informant remembreth not. The like Wager they offered to lay against one Mr. *Best*,  
an



an Hop-Merchant in *Thames-street*, of whom *Turberfield* said, he had received some Guinea's ; and that he would go thither again, and see if he could get more ; and if he would not give him any, he would swear that against him that should make his Heart ake.

And this Informant farther saith, That Captain *Barry* did frequently call Mr. *John Smith* Name-sake ; and this Informant enquiring of Mr. *Mac-Namarra* wherefore *Barry* called *Smith* Name-sake, he answered this Informant, that *Smith* was an *Irish-man*, born in *Connaught*, and that his right Name was *Barry*.

And this Informant farther saith, That then *Turberfield*, *Haynes* and *Mac-Namarra* said, they would take several others of the *Irish* Evidence along with them to the *Amsterdam-Coffee-house* on *Tuesday* come Seven-night next, and there pick a Quarrel among themselves ; and in the heat of their Quarrel they would take Sheriff *Bethel* by his Chain, and lead him from thence to *Bow-Church* : And *Turberfield* asked the Question, whether it would not do well to kick him at parting ?

And this Informant farther saith, That on the aforesaid 11th of *August*, *Turberfield* said, they had Bands and Clokes, by which distinguishing of themselves, they said, they

could discover factious People, they taking them for some of their own Mould, And *Turberfield*, soon after this Discourse, left the Company, and in about half an hour returned, dressed up like a Presbyterian Minister.

And this Informant farther saith, That on the same 11th day of *August*, and Place last mentioned, Mr. *Smith*, alias *Barry*, asked Mr. *Mac-Namarra* where he was so long in the Morning, that he could not find him? To which Mr. *Mac-Namarra* answered, He had been with Sir *Lioline Jenkins*. *I'll warrant you*, replied *Smith*, *you have had a long Lesson, you stay'd so long*. *Mac-Namarra* answered him, *As long as it was, I have learn'd it*. And then they enter'd into a private Discourse.

This Informant also saith, That they usually spent high at Dinner, 10 s. each Man being their common Ordinary. They also commended their Trade to me, and told me, that if I would come to *Oxford*, I should hear how they would swinge the Fanaticks: And they said farther, that they would procure me a Place to hear the Trial; and that they were assured, that tho the Grand-Jury of *London* should come down to confront them, they should not be admitted.

And

And this Informant farther saith, That Mr. *John Smith* then said, that if he had but knowledg of Mr. *Jenks* the Draper, as *Mac-Namarra* had, that he would not fail to swear that against him, which should not fail to take him from being the Head of a Party of Fanaticks. And that there were several others who had traduced him, whom, if he knew, he would make Examples.

And this Informant farther saith, That Mrs. *Peacock* said, that Mr. *Fitz-Harris* was gone to *Windsor* to discover a new Popish Plot, so that she was not certain whether she had not best side with her Mistriss: And speaking to Mr. *Mac-Namarra*, he answered, that Man and Wife, Mistriss and Maid, were best to be all of a Mind.

*Sworn before Sir George Treby, Recorder of London, Sept. 1681.*

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*The Information of Captain Henry  
Wilkinson.*

**I** *Mprimis*, I the said *Henry Wilkinson* do declare, and am ready to swear, That on *Saturday, October the 8th, 1681.* about Five of the Clock in the Evening, one *Mr. Walter Baines* came to *Mr. Adam's* Cellar in the *King's-Bench* Prison, and sent for me out of the Garden in the *King's-Bench*; who upon sight told me, he was sorry to see me in that place, and afterwards engaged me to accept of a Pot of Beer or Ale. In the time of its drinking, *Mr. Baines* shewed and expressed the greatest Kindness that could be expected from a Brother; which made me believe he had some Design. Then he desired to know what sort of Wine I would drink? I told him not any; besides, the Cellar had none: but he then called for Brandy, which we had. Then he told me *Mr. Brownrig* was sent Prisoner to *York-Castle* for Treason, and for appearing for my Lord *Shaftsbury*. And also the said *Baines* said, he had sent a Note to my Lord *Shaftsbury*, to demand fifty Shillings, for Service and Charges that was due to him, done for the Lord *Shaftsbury* at my Request, as he pretends;

tends ; and that my Lord sent him word, it was a Sham and a Cheat put upon him, and therefore he would pay him no such Bill.

At the same time he told me, I could not but know much of the Lord *Shaftsbury's* Designs against the King, and that I might do well to discover it to him, who was ready to do me any Kindness, and desired an opportunity. Also that he had been lately with Mr. *Graham*, and had a great Interest with my Lord *Hyde*. (All this time I understood what was designing for my Kindness.) I constantly and truly told him, I knew nothing of my Lord *Shaftsbury's* Designs against His Majesty : Only this I did know formerly, from Mr. *Baines* about three Months ago ; that he was then of an Opinion, that Mr. *Brownrig* could discover some unlawful Practices against the Lord *Shaftsbury*, which, I confess, I did wish might be discovered ; for altho I have served his Majesty in *England*, and beyond Sea (and no other Interest) and was as instrumental in His Majesty's Restoration as any Person of my Fortune could be ; so I am for his Continuance by all lawful means, and never to study the Destruction of his Friends or Enemies by unjust Designs. I have cause to believe my Lord *Shaftsbury* loves His Majesty, for he always was pleased

to shew me Respect, for that I had served His Majesty.

Now Night drew on for Mr. *Baines* to be gone; all the time he stay'd was spent with a great deal of Zeal upon me on the same Subject. He told me I should have a Pardon, and need not to fear it; I would not deny his Proffer. But he farther told me, I should be considerably rewarded: Neither did I deny that, but told him, When I was requited for my former Service, I would serve His Majesty in what I could. I saw here was a Design laid; and altho I had reason to take it unkindly to have any thing fixed upon me, or to make me an Instrument beyond my Knowledg, yet I was resolved to humour the Business. Upon which Mr. *Baines* took his Leave this Night, and told me at parting, he would in a few days see me again, but left me with such Promises as at present I cannot express, not much questioning my Knowledg.

*Item*, That on Tuesday, *October* the 11th, 1681, I was sent for to Mr. *Weaver's* House near the *King's-Bench*, to Mr. *Booth*; who told me he was glad to see me, but sorry to see us both in that Condition; for he was a Prisoner as I was. He told me, he had removed himself last Night from one of the *Compters*. I required of him how he came to be at a Waiter's House? He told me,



me, it was not denied him, altho I could not be admitted one Night. I understood he was engaged in the Design; I considered he had been a Man of bad Principles, therefore I was resolved to stand upon my Guard. Presently he told me, he was to tell me, I had an opportunity to be a better Man in my Fortune than ever I was before, and that now I had an opportunity to make my Fortune, and that I might have 500 *l.* *per Annum* settled upon me and my Heirs, or 10000 *l.* in Money, which I pleased, if I would discover what I knew of my Lord *Shatfsbury*, and his Design in changing the Government to a Commonwealth, and witness against him. I replied, and told him, No Body would believe I should be made privy to such a Design (if such a thing was) being I had served His Majesty in *England*, and beyond Sea. He answered, I was the likeliest Man to know, for he knew I had served the King, and had been slighted and neglected. I told him, that was true. I answered him again, I never desired any thing of His Majesty for my Service, but that which would cost him nothing, but only to have the Preference of others, that never had been concerned in His Majesty's Service, by way of Farm on part of His Majesty's Revenues. He told me His Majesty knew me, and that he was sensible  
of

of my Service and Sufferings, and desired to gratify me ; for he often told me, Now was the time to do something which would advance me, for it must now be a King or a Common wealth ; for the Earl of *Shaftsbury's* Party would but only make use of me to slight me when their Business was done. I told him, I was with my Lord *Shaftsbury* the Night before he was apprehended, and that Sir *Thomas Armstrong* was there ; a Person I knew out of favour, on purpose that he might speak out his full Mind, but still told him, I knew nothing of any Design. I also told him, I would say nothing, nor appear at Court until I was considered for my Sufferings, ( a thing I never expected ) and as for going to Court, I never intended it : But the more I told him I knew nothing of a Design, the more he put me in mind of what Reward I might have, in such words, that I ought to swear to it, whether I knew any thing or nothing of the Business. Now I fully saw the Design ; and tho I stayed late, at my Return I began to consider who I should make this Business and Design known to, being a Stranger in the *King's-Bench*. I observed one who appeared to me to be a sober and sensible Person ; that Night I repaired to him, and ( lest I should be tempted with what Offers were made ) I told him that I had a design to commit a

Secret

Secret to him ; whereupon I told him, and desired him to put the same in Writing ; and that if I ever declared more than what I did then to him, ( that was ) That I knew nothing of any Plot or Design against His Majesty, intended by my Lord *Shaftsbury* : I told him this, and declared in the Presence of God, that if ever I should be tempted to swear more than this at any time, it was for Reward ; and that I desired him to witness the Truth of this against me, and that I would daily give him an account of what passed for the future, which I desired him every day to put into Writing, which I believe he hath done ; as also the constant Invitations abroad, and the Visits they gave me here, which were so frequent to me, as nothing could be more.

Mr. *Booth* told me I must appear at Court, and I should have an assurance of my Reward from some Persons of Honour : I told him I would not trust any Courtier I knew for a Groat ; I am satisfied he was put upon this, but by whom God knows, I am assured not by his Majesty.

That on Wednesday *October* the 12th, 1681, I am invited by Mr. *Booth* to dine with him that day at Mr. *Weaver's* House, which I refused, ( altho he sent a Waiter, and promised him Satisfaction for his Attendance. ) After Dinner he sent again :  
I

I went, and found Mr. *Baines* with him, both rising from Dinner ; I was most kindly received with Wiſe and good Words, working upon me to come in a Witneſs againſt my Lord *Shaftsbury's* deſigning to change the Government ; declaring I had an opportunity to make my Family and Friends, as they had expreſt formerly : I told them as I had done before, until I was ſatiſfied for by-paſt Services, I would not be concern'd any way at Court. They told me, I might be aſſured of what I would deſire from my Lord *Hallifax* and my Lord *Hide*. Mr. *Booth* required what would ſatiſfy me ? I told him, if they would give me two thouſand Guinea's towards the Injury I had received, and my Friends upon my account, I would diſcover what I knew. Mr. *Booth* told me a greater thing was intended me, for I was to have 500 *l. per Annum*, or 10000 *l.* in Money : But I ſtill told them, I knew nothing of any Deſign by my Lord *Shaftsbury*. The more I declared I knew nothing, the more Mr. *Booth* urged the Reward. I told him (when he was ſo earneſt) when I had that Money and a general Pardon, I would then do any Service I could ; but I would not truſt the Promiſes of Courtiers. Mr. *Baines* told me, as to a Pardon, I might have it in two or three days : He deſired to know my Chriſtian Name, which I conceived

ceived was an Intention to get a Pardon, a thing never in my Thoughts, but Mr. *Baines* formerly mentioned it to me; and truly I did not know what I might stand in need of, or what they would fix upon me in our Discourse.

Mr. *Baines* told me, he had the Night before been with my Lord *Hallifax* and my Lord *Hide*; now they thought they had prevailed with me, and were mighty chearful: Before I parted from them, my Wife coming to me, told me, Mr. *Booth* had been mighty urgent with her to engage me to come in a Witness, and then told her, I should have 500 *l. per Annum* settled upon me; but what Grounds he had for this I know not; for all Persons that know her, knew her to be Person of unquestionable Repute. Nor did I question the performance, for I thought what I could say would not deserve; neither could I tell why they should think me such a Man as they would have me to be; for I ever hated to be a Witness or a Jury-man all my time: I conceive Mr. *Booth* thought I might be wrought upon, because I had great Misfortunes, and that this was a ready way to repair me.

October the 13th, 1681. This day I had a Waiter sent me about Eleven a Clock, to desire me to go to Mr. *Weaver's* House, which I did, there was Mr. *Booth* and Mr. *Baines*,  
who

who told me they sent for me to dine with them : I had no desire to have any Table-talk with them, I desired to be excused, and also promised to see them after Dinner. Mr. *Baines* told me Mr. *Graham* was not far off, and would be there, and that he was sent by some of the Council to discourse me : Mr. *Baines* told me, on Tuesday Night he was at Court with my Lord *Hallifax*, and Lord *Hyde*, and the two Secretaries of State, and that they enquired who knew me ? He replied, Mr. *Graham*, who was sent for ; they ask'd him as to my Reputation ? they ask'd him if he knew me, and how long ? he said, about twenty Years ; they enquired of him concerning me ? He told me Mr. *Graham* answered, I had served His Majesty and his Father in *England* and beyond Sea faithfully, and that I was a very honest Man, and also that I was a great Sufferer, and that I had received great Disappointments, and had been ill dealt with by some that belonged to the Court, as in particular, Mr. *Edward Progers* ; and that they engaged Mr. *Graham* to come over to the *King's-Bench*, and to assure me, that I should be requited for my Sufferings ; also to take me over with him to the King, where I should have the Promise of His Majesty for the same, and the opportunity to declare my former Grievances, and receive



ceive His Royal Word and Promise for my Reward and Sufferings. After this Discourse Mr. *Graham* came in, who told me the same things as above, and that I might be assured of those things from the King, also that he had an Order to carry me to His Majesty : I told him I could say nothing, neither would I go to *White-hall*, for I had taken a Resolution against going to *White-hall*. It was hard pressed for my going thither : I desired to be excused ; for if I could say any thing, I must be guilty my self ; but he told me, whether I was or not, I might be recompensed for my Sufferings ; upon which I took my leave, and went away not well pleased, that for my Requital I should be thought an ill Man, or a Traitor.

That on *October* the 14th, 1681. Mr. *Booth* came to me about Eleven a Clock to the *King's-Bench* ; we walked in the Garden about an Hour. His Business was to know my Mind, whether I would go voluntarily to the King or not ? He also told me, That Mr. *Wilson*, my Lord *Shaftsbury's* Secretary, that was in the *Gatehouse*, had sent to the Council to inform them, That if he might have his Pardon, he would come in, and declare his Knowledg ; and therefore he would have me to have the Honour to be the first Discoverer. I told him I had no Business

at

at *White-hall*. Then he told me it was intended that Mr. *Graham* should be at his Lodging this Afternoon, to see if I would go to the King, if not my Lord Chief Justice's Warrant would be sent to compel me to appear at his Chamber, where there would be some of the Council to examine me, and swear me. He also told me, That the Duke of *York* had a great Estate in *Ireland*, and that he would give me 500 *l. per Annum* there, besides all former Promises, to be settled upon me and my Heirs, if I would come in a Witness against my Lord *Shaftsbury*. I told him they might meet with many Persons in this Age that would accept of such Offers. I told him, if I had any thing to say it was the most proper time in Court for me and Witnesses to speak their Knowledg. I told him I did not know but the Presence of a King and his Promises, might make a Man say more than what was true, or than he could say fairly in a Court. Mr. *Booth* ask'd me, if I did not ride with my Sword and Pistols out of Town with my Lord *Shaftsbury* when he went to *Oxford*? I told him I did, I could not do less than wait upon him out of Town, who had been so kind, with the rest of the Lords Proprietors, to do me the Honour to make me their Governour for the Country of *Carolina*. He then told me I must  
needs

needs be privy to this, That if His Majesty would not pass three Acts, one for excluding the Duke of *Tork*, the next for making void the Act of Queen *Elizabeth* against Recusants; and the third for uniting Protestant Subjects, then by force of Arms he was to be compelled. He told me all the Council was satisfied I knew this, and as much as any Person, in regard that both my Lord *Shaftsbury* and my self were disgusted at Court. He said the Council knew I was a Souldier, and was satisfied I was to act in that Concern. I begun now to consider what a Fortune was now promis'd, and what a good Addition this 500 *l.* additional from the Duke of *Tork* would make to the former Promises; and after he was gone I acquainted my Wife, and told her how great a Person she was like to be: But this was no News to her; for Mr. *Booth* had often been desiring her for her own good, to engage me in this honourable Service. Thus these things in our Troubles served us to be merry with, to consider how easily we were like to leap into an Estate: But all this time we were without fear and danger of enjoying it, or any part of it, much less of intailing it upon our Posterity.

*October* the 15<sup>th</sup>, 1681. This day about Eleven a Clock Mr. *Booth* came again to me

to the *King's-Bench*, to know of me if I yet would go to *White-hall*: I demanded, For what? He told me, To evidence against the Earl of *Shaftsbury*; I told him I had nothing to say against him. He importuned me not to lose this great Opportunity I now had. Before we parted, Mr. *Baines* came to us, I desired to know why they should be so urgent to have me a Witness. He told me there were none but *Irish* Witnesses yet to come against my Lord *Shaftsbury*, and they were not Persons of Credit; but if I would come in, altho I had been unfortunate in my private Concerns, yet I was not blemish'd in my Credit. Mr. *Baines* told me if I would not go to *White-hall*, the Marshal had an *Habeas Corpus* from my Lord Chief Justice *Pemberton*, to carry me. So we parted.

About Four a Clock in the Afternoon, the Marshal came with Mr. *Booth* and Mr. *Baines* to require me to go along with him: I demanded whither: He told me to *White-hall*. I demanded to see his Warrant: He shewed it me: Now I was forced to obey. After my coming thither, in a little time I was called into Mr. Secretary *Jenkins's* Office, where he and my Lord *Conway* were; who strictly, but very fairly and honestly, examined me about my Lord *Shaftsbury*, and what I knew of any Design against His

His Majesty. I told them, as I did to the former Attackers, I knew nothing. Great Arguments were used, but I could give no satisfactory Answer, as was (I conceive) expected. After this His Majesty came into the Office; when he saw me, he was pleased to do me the Honour to say, he knew me well, and that I had served His Father and His Majesty faithfully, and He hoped I would not decline my Obedience. To which I answered, I never deserved to be suspected. His Majesty was pleased to tell me, He had not had the opportunity to serve his Friends, but hoped he might: He was pleased to promise to consider me for my Sufferings. Then His Majesty began to examine me, (if I had been exhorted by the best Divine in *England*, he could not have said more than his Majesty) in telling me what Kindness was intended me, was not with a design to invite me to speak a word but Truth it self; and that if he knew I did, or any other Person, His Majesty would never endure them. Then His Majesty demanded what I knew of a Design against His Person and Government? I truly told His Majesty, that I knew nothing of any Plot or Design against His Majesty or Government; that I admired why I should be suspected, that had served His Majesty and His Father in *England* and beyond Sea,

and was as instrumental as any Person in His Majesty's Restoration : But some Persons had possessed His Majesty, I was deep in some Design against the Government, and knew much of my Lord *Shaftsbury* : So His Majesty seemed not to be satisfied, but still pressed hard upon me. To all His Majesty's Questions, I could give no Answer that would satisfy. Then His Majesty was pleased to tell me, If I would say, *As I hoped to be saved, I knew nothing of any Design against His Person*, he would believe me, which I did say in those very words, which His Majesty seemed to wonder at. Then I was left to Mr. Secretary *Jenkins*, who was pleased to use such Arguments as he thought fit. I told him I knew my Duty to His Majesty, I would not draw a Sword against him, but I could freely do it against some of the Court that were Enemies to His Majesty and his Friends ; and so I was dismissed out of the Office. Then I was carried into another Room, where His Majesty, my Lord Chancellor, Lord *Hallifax*, Lord *Hyde*, the two Secretaries of State were, and the Lord Chief Justice *Pemberton* ; where I was examined, Mr. *Graham*, Mr. *Booth*, and Mr. *Baines* present. My Lord Chancellor was sharp upon me with several Questions, which I could give no Answer to. Content thus I was to run the Gantlet



Gantlet from one place to another. My Lord Chancellor would not believe but I must be guilty of knowing great things against my Lord *Shaftsbury*. I told him if I could not be believed upon my Word there, if they pleased to bring my Lord *Shaftsbury* upon his Trial, I would declare it in open Court upon Oath what my Knowledg was, without any hopes of Gain or Advancement. My Lord Chancellor, I thank him, did me that Equity, to tell me, there were two sorts of Advancement ; I need not give my self that trouble, for I was like to come to my Trial my self before my Lord *Shaftsbury*. My Lord Chancellor demanded of me, if I had no Commission for this new Service against His Majesty : I told him, No. Then he told me, I was to have a Troop to consist of fifty Men : I told him, that was a small Troop ; I hoped that if ever I had a Command of a Troop, it should be a better than that. But I desired to know who gave that Information : He told me, Mr. *Booth*, who was by, and was listed under me. I desired Mr. *Booth* to tell me, if he had given this Information, and made this Oath ? He told me, Yes, and it was true. I was unconcerned, and am, knowing my self not guilty : For I protest, in the presence of Almighty God, by whom I expect to be judged, I never had a word with Mr. *Booth*,

or any other Person in my whole Life, tending to any such thing. For at the same time that he said this was to be, which was when the Parliament was to be last at *Oxford*, I had taken, on a Ship for *Carolina*, where I was to go Governour, a Business more to my Content than any Military Employ, especially against His Majesty and the Government. But I conceived this was in hopes of Reward, and to shew his Loyalty; for which, I believe, he will neither be regarded nor rewarded, I told the Council, if they had such another Witness they might do my business. I thank God I am not afraid of him, nor twenty more such Witnesses, if they come against me; for 'tis well known, he hath been accused and condemned for Clipping and Coining, besides Murder, for which he had His Majesty's gracious Pardon, as I have been informed. I am glad I live in such Days, wherein Juries conceive they are Judges as to Matter of Fact; for if they were not, I am satisfied in this Swearing Age, many an Honest Man would be forced to march before they know either Rank or File. At the same time I told my Lord Chancellor, if any honest Man would come and witness against me, I would never desire His Majesty's Pardon, or ever will. Let all the World judg how unlikely it is, that

that I should be thus concerned, when I had about twenty eight Men-Servants, four or five Women-Servants, besides my Wife, three Sons ( of which two had been in His Majesty's Service at Sea ) and one Daughter, all the Children I have, prepar'd, and lay at my Charge, intending for *Carolina*, and thought my self happy ; and was resolved to leave *England*, with a Resolution to see if I could find a People that had less Wit, and more Honesty, than I have found in my own Country ; where, I must needs say, I have found very unfaithful Dealings amongst such as account themselves Persons of Honour and Quality. But truly, when I thought I had made my self almost ready for my intended Voyage, I found my self like a Man bewitched, that could neither budg nor stir, until at last some Debts that I was bound for fell upon me, and others of my own increased, being burdened with a great Charge, which unexpectedly put a stop at present to my intended Voyage. I did always intend to leave *England* honestly and honourably : Those things fell so unexpectedly, that my self and Wife concluded there was a Divine Hand in it.

*The Information of Jarvis James, Gent.*

**I** *Jarvis James*, Gent. do declare, That the above-named Captain *Henry Wilkinson* came to me upon Tuesday the 11th of *October*, 1681. in the Evening; and did then, and likewise every day, from time to time afterwards, make me acquainted with the several Treaties and Transactions between him the said Captain *Henry Wilkinson*, and Mr. *Baines*, Mr. *Booth*, and Mr. *Graham*, and the several other Persons in this his Information mentioned; and that they were the very same in substance with what he hath herein set forth and declared: for at his Request, and for my own Satisfaction, I kept a daily Journal during the time of their treating. All which shall be attested upon Oath, when required.

*The Information of Mrs. Susannah  
Wilkinson, Wife of Captain Henry  
Wilkinson.*

**I** The said *Susannah Wilkinson* do declare,  
That on Wednesday the 12<sup>th</sup> of *October*, 1681, I went to the *King's-Bench* Prison, to speak with my Husband, ( where I met with three Carpenters, which were entertained by him as Servants for *Carolina*, and who had waited a long time, and not finding him likely to proceed in his Voyage, they desired to be discharged ); but not finding him in the *King's-Bench*, I went with them to Mr. *Weaver's* House, where I found him in Company with Mr. *Booth*, and one Mr. *Baines* ( who were very largely treating my Husband with Wine. ) My Husband went out to perswade the Servants, and discoursed them : Then Mr. *Booth* took an opportunity to speak to me, and told me, my Husband was a most obstinate Man ; and Mr. *Booth* desired me to perswade my Husband to be guided and perswaded by him the said Mr. *Booth*. And he said, the King would do more for my Husband than ever the Lord *Shaftsbury* would ; and that the King was sensible of my Husband's Service

vice and Sufferings; and if my Husband would be perswaded by him, the said Mr. *Booth*, to appear against the Lord *Shaftsbury*, he was sure my Husband would be the most happy Man in the World, and that he should have 500*l.* a Year settled upon him and his Heirs for ever.

That on Friday *October* the 14<sup>th</sup>, 1681. I was with my Husband at the *King's-Bench* Prison, when Mr. *Booth* came into our Room. Mr. *Booth* took an opportunity to speak with me, and desired me for God's sake to perswade my Husband to be ruled by him; which if my Husband would, he might be an happy Man, and the Duke of *York* would settle 500*l.* a Year in *Ireland* upon my Husband and his Heirs; and very much intreated me to perswade my Husband to what he desired. All which shall be attested upon Oath, when required.

7 DE61

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*Reflections*



*Reflections upon the two Affidavits, and  
Captain Wilkinson's Narrative.*

**I**T appears by the Affidavit of *Thomas Samson* Gent. that *John Mac-Namarra*, and *Dennis* his Brother, (who promised to swear whatsoever his Brother would have him swear) *Edward Ivy*, *Bryan Haines*, *John Smith* and *Turberfield*, &c. were all in a Confederacy for the corrupt Service of the Court, to swear Treason right or wrong, against all that were obnoxious to *Whitehall*, or should oppose them in that Service; and tho confessing to their Confidants they knew nothing of a Protestant Plot, yet consulted *Cellier* the Romish Midwife, and her Priests in *Newgate*, how to sham the Popish Plot, and make one for the Protestants; and in pursuance hereof, they took away the innocent Lives of *Stephen Colledge*, and *Mr. Rouse*, of which they boasted to such as they thought they might with safety do it, that they knew nothing of Treason against either of them, magnifying from thence the Service done their Masters, as if Perjury was a Vertue.

The Affidavit of *William Shewen* confirms what is before suggested; for he being a pregnant young Man, these Varlets judging him

him for their purpose, duckoyed him into their Company, hoping to make a Profelyte of him ; by which means he came to the knowledg of all their Secrets and Designs : but his Parents being of good Substance, and sober Persons, apprehending the danger of their being ravished of their Child, by great Industry and some Charge, they recovered him out of the hands of these profligate Fellows, after he had for some time associated with them ; and then as a Testimony of his Repentance, and Sorrow for his Miscarriage, he voluntarily and of his own accord, out of hatred to their Practices, made this Discovery under his own Hand-writing, drawn up by himself without the least prompting thereunto ; then presented it to his Friends, and being called thereunto made Oath of the truth thereof.

How far the Court was concerned in this Contrivance, may be calculated by that part Secretary *Jenkins* appears to have born in it, in his generous gratifying these infamous Witnesses, even to that degree, as enabled them to live at the rate of 10*s.* ordinary ; all which is worthy Observation, as also the providential preserving Mr. *Bethell* (then Sheriff) from being murdered, of which they had so positively determined, that they proffered to lay ten to one, they would hang him before *Christmas*: for tho they confessed

fessed they had nothing against him, yet in  
 that time they said they should either get or  
 make enough. And these and the like Wit-  
 nesses were not only encouraged by the  
 King's Bounty to them, but also by the  
 assurance they had of such Juries as would be-  
 lieve any thing they should say : for the King  
 not observing the Rule the Law directs, in  
 electing Sheriffs for the Counties, out of the  
 three presented to him, and after prick'd not  
 changing of them, as by a judged Case he  
 ought to do, but chusing them as he pleased,  
 the Witnesses had no reason to doubt of  
 Juries for their turn ; and since the King's  
 best Subjects were so much concerned as to  
 the safety of their Lives in the Choice of  
 Sheriffs, it belongs to their Representatives  
 in Parliament to prevent the like Practice  
 in the future, by asserting the Law in this  
 case, no other way being effectual : for it  
 cannot be expected, that private Persons  
 should make themselves obnoxious to the  
 King, by disputing his Irregularities ; when  
 if our King shall hereafter assume the Power  
 of chusing Sheriffs at large, he may have  
 what Juries he pleaseth to revenge himself  
 upon any that shall oppose his Arbitrary  
 Proceedings.

Captain *Wilkinson's* Merits from those then  
 in the Government is as well known, as his  
 Information doth abundantly set forth  
 their

their monstrous Ingratitude towards him, and that for no other cause, than refusing to depart from his Integrity, to be made instrumental by Perjury, in murdering the Innocent, to which he was tempted to that degree, both by Rewards and Threats, as is to be feared few in this Depraved Age would have resisted : and for the Proof of this Observation, I recommend the Reader to the serious perusal of the said Narrative, and to take notice of the Actors therein ; for I know no reason why Greatness should privilege Immorality, but rather make it the more criminal in such, when guilty thereof. And now with the following Additions to our Litany I conclude.

From cheating and cozening, buying and selling Offices, Weakness and Wilfulness, Treachery and Perjury, Pride, Covetousness and Ambition, *Jacobites* and *de facto* Men, ill Nature and Ingratitude, Drunkards, Swearers, Murderers, Persecutors, and all their Adherents, *Good Lord deliver us.*

7 DE 61  
F T N T S.

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## ERRATA.

- P**age 19. line 11. read *ruine*, f. *ruined*.  
Pag. 31. l. 2. r. *Naval Stores*, f. *Naval Forces*.  
Pag. 35. l. 24. r. 800000, f. 80000.  
Pag. 37. l. 3. r. *tempting*, for *attempting*.  
Pag. 58. l. 10. r. *an Irish Gentleman*, f. *an Irish Lord*.  
Pag. 60. l. 3. r. *it ought not*, f. *it cannot*.  
Pag. 62. l. 23. r. *Hannaw*, f. *Hannover*.  
Pag. 72. l. 9. r. *where*, f. *wherein*.  
Pag. 76. l. 1. r. *Subornation*, f. *Subordination*.  
Pag. 86. l. 25. r. *than*, f. *then*.  
Pag. 88. l. 37. r. 7 or 8000, f. 4 or 5000.  
Pag. 95. l. 21. r. *bar*, f. *bare*.  
Pag. 113. l. 8. r. *such as Sovereigns are*, f. *such as were*.

All other literal Errors which may be found, the Reader is desired to amend them in his reading.

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